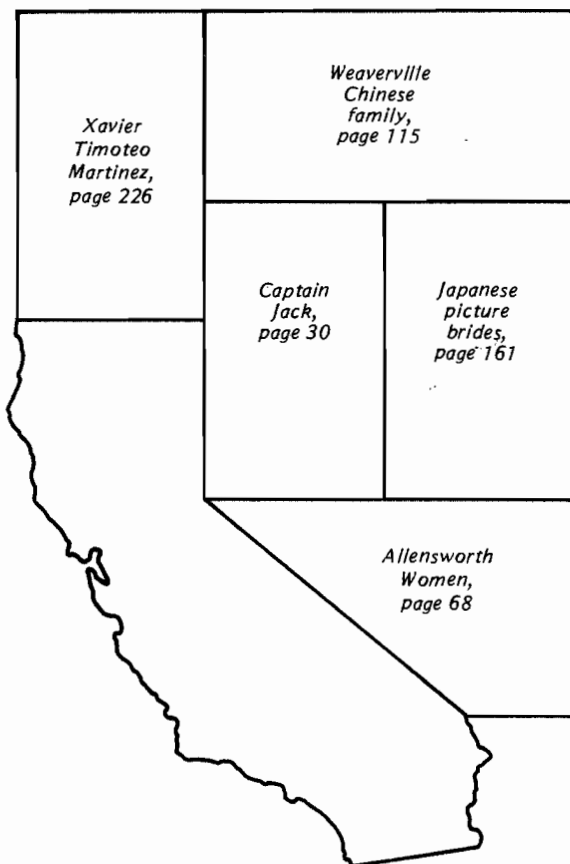


F I V E



An Ethnic Sites Survey for California

V I E W S



FIVE VIEWS



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FOREWORD

This survey was originally conceived in order to broaden the spectrum of ethnic community participation in historic preservation activities and to provide better information on ethnic history and associated sites. This information will help planners identify and evaluate ethnic properties, which have generally been underrepresented on historic property surveys. Most surveys record architecturally distinguished or widely known buildings, but ethnic properties are often modest structures or important because of people or events less familiar to many. Most of all, the public needed the opportunity to become more aware of California's cultural diversity and its tangible manifestations on the land.

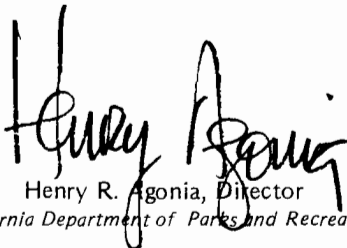
In response to legislative action, in 1979, the California Office of Historic Preservation took the lead to improve representation of ethnic minority properties in cultural resource surveys. For this first effort, California's five largest ethnic minority groups present during the 50 years after 1848 were chosen. Following recruitment in search of the best possible experts for each subject area, contracts were awarded and the surveys were done. The surveys consisted of a narrative history and one hundred recorded sites, one-quarter of which were described in the final report.

The authors of each survey expressed their own views, and although the report has been edited for clarity and consistency, their conclusions have not been revised or altered. Their statements do not necessarily represent the position or opinions of the State of California or any of its official representatives. The various chapters should, therefore, be looked upon as individual statements, presented as a public service without copyright restrictions. Use of this material is encouraged, with credit to the California Department of Parks and Recreation and the authors themselves.

The survey should be useful in a variety of ways to researchers, schools, government agencies, historic preservation organizations, and ethnic communities. We hope that it will stimulate interest and action among groups in California and in other states. Most of all we hope that it will help people more fully recognize and appreciate the accomplishments and contributions of California's varied communities.

In any case, it is important to remember that this report is only a beginning, one step in an ongoing process. It raises more questions than it answers. What other groups should be studied? How are these five groups alike or different? Are there universal themes? What other factors could be explored? How do the groups' histories interrelate? Are there other sites that should be preserved or recognized?

While this report provides a starting point for further research, its existence should demonstrate the effort being made to more fully recognize California's ethnic diversity and the contributions that have been made to our heritage by Californians of widely differing backgrounds.



Henry R. Agonia, Director
California Department of Parks and Recreation



Kathryn Gualtieri
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A History of
AMERICAN INDIANS
in California

The Santa Barbara
Indian Center

Dwight Dutschke
Office of Historic Preservation



INTRODUCTION

The history of California Indians is a different story from that of other ethnic groups who came in the last few centuries as immigrants to an already populated land. For Indians, this is their homeland, and their history spans more than 10,000 years of occupation. Unlike other groups who came to California to gain wealth or to escape undesirable conditions, California Indians lived in a land of plenty. Their material technology reflected what was necessary to meet their needs.

While people often write about how Indians developed a means of living in harmony with their environment, this cultural lifestyle was more a reflection of numbers, the carrying capacity of the land, and personal needs. What might have happened if Europeans had not arrived cannot be determined. However, just as in the case of many other societies, we can assume that, as their numbers and needs increased, greater pressure would have been put on the environment. Indians would have adapted or ceased to exist.

California Indians, like American Indians in general, have been the subject of many books and studies. The written record shows that in California alone there were hundreds of small groups, speaking more than 100 languages. Unlike the present population of California, the Indians lived well within the capacity of their environment. They developed religious systems and social norms, and they traded with their neighbors for goods or services not available in their own communities. They did what was necessary to survive.

A number of good source books have been written about California Indian life before the coming of European people and culture. Books that offer a wealth of information include the following:

Alfred Louis Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*

Robert F. Heizer, et al., *Handbook of North American Indians: Vol. 8*

Robert F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple, *The California Indians; A Source Book*

But this report is not about the prehistory of California Indians, nor is it the story of any one Indian group. Rather, it is a commentary on those events, procedures, laws, and situations that confronted and greatly affected California Indians and their ability to survive once Europeans arrived. The reason it is important to tell this aspect of Indian history, rather than the more romantic story of how Indians lived in harmony with nature, is the same reason it is important to tell the history of any people -- so we can learn from the mistakes of the past and try not to make those same mistakes in the future. Finally, we tell this history so that Indian people and non-Indian people might better understand why Indians have evolved as they have -- why they are people attempting to retain their cultural identity while surviving in the modern world.

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN INDIANS IN CALIFORNIA

Most historians agree that Portuguese-born Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo was the first European to explore California. Sailing under the Spanish flag in 1542, Cabrillo hoped to find the northwest passage; instead, he found the California coast and claimed the new-found land for Spain. With his entrance into California, the course of California Indian history changed drastically.

“Traditionally, California Indians have been portrayed in history as a docile primitive people, who openly embraced the invading Spaniards and were rapidly subdued. This simplistic contention adds little to a realistic understanding of native history in California and undoubtedly is derived from crude feelings of racial superiority on the part of its advocates.” (Heizer, 1978:99) The relationship between the Spanish and the Indians was not a peaceful co-existence. Rather, the history of California Indians is the story of an attempt to survive a series of invasions and the hardships that ensued.

In 1579, an Englishman, Sir Francis Drake, sailed into California. While much discussion has occurred as to exactly where Drake anchored, it is known that he spent five weeks among the California natives. Before leaving, he claimed the whole territory for the English Crown. He based his claim on the “right of discovery.” Thus, within the first 40 years of European influence in California, two countries had claimed the land, and neither had acknowledged the rights of the natives who had resided on it for thousands of years.

Other explorers of early California included Pedro de Unamuno in 1587, Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeno in 1595, and Sebastian Vizcaino in 1602-1603. While none of these early explorers stayed very long or developed any framework for the establishment of permanent settlements, their visits had a lasting effect.



Manchester Round House, Mendocino County

The theoretical question of land ownership brought about by Spanish and English claims to California and by non-acknowledgment of the rights of the Indians was overshadowed in practical reality by the introduction of disease. It cannot be determined at this time exactly what effects early explorers and the introduction of their diseases had on California Indians during the early exploration periods. It is certain, however, is that European diseases eventually devastated the Indian population.

On July 16, 1769, the Spanish founded the first mission in California. It has been estimated that there were about 310,000 Indians living in California at the time. (Cook, 1962:92) However, over the next 80 years, this number was to change drastically, along with the lifestyle and culture of the Indians.

1769-1848

"Spain's Indian policy at the time of the invasion of California was a mixture of economic, military, political, and religious motives. Indians were regarded by the Spanish government as subjects of the Crown and human beings capable of receiving the sacraments of Christianity." (Heizer, 1978:100) "It was essential under 'missionization' that California Indians be 'reduced' into settled and stable communities where they would become good subjects of the King and children of God. Missionization required a brutal lifestyle akin in several respects to the forced movement of black people from Africa to the American South." (Archibald, 1978:172) Thus, "it should be clear, then, that the missions of California were not solely religious institutions. They were, on the contrary, instruments designed to bring about a total change in culture in a brief period of time." (Forbes, 1969:29)

The missions were built with Indian labor. This seems ironic given the devastating effect the mission system had on Indian population and culture, but it must be remembered that the Spanish saw the Indian neophytes (a neophyte is a new religious convert) as "little more than an energy source which cost nothing to acquire and nothing to maintain -- they were an expendable resource. If the mission system had been progressive, if the priests (and the Mexican Presidents) had been able to learn from observation and experience, and thus allow changes to occur which would have been accommodations to problems of managing the neophyte populations, then there could have developed an operation which would have become more humane, and more consistent with doctrinal theory." (Banning, 1978:136)

From 1769 to 1800, the California coast was under Spanish control from as far north as San Francisco to San Diego in the south. However, this was not accomplished without a certain amount of resistance. Within a month after establishment of the San Diego mission in 1769, the Indians "attacked the Spanish camp, attempting to drive the invaders from their territory. But the Spanish soldiers, using guns, defended their settlement and an uneasy peace ensued. Yet, it would be another two years before Mission San Diego could record its first baptism." (Heizer, 1978:101)

Throughout the mission period, Indians resisted Spanish rule. "One of the earliest and most successful demonstrations of native resistance to colonization was the destruction of Mission San Diego on November 4, 1775. Under the leadership of the neophyte Francisco of the Cuiaamac Rancheria, the Ipai-Tipai organized nine villages into a force of about 800 men who not only completely destroyed the mission but also killed three Hispanos including Padre Jaime." (Heizer, 1978:103)

Not every resistance effort was violent. "The natives, Christian and gentile, caused more trouble in the region of San Francisco than in any

other part of California. . . . In September of the same year 1795 over two hundred natives deserted from San Francisco, different parties in different directions, the number including many old neophytes who had always been faithful before." (Bancroft, 1963:708-709) Resistance occurred throughout the mission period, but the clerico-military administration did not tolerate even non-violent resistance. They responded by attempting to prevent escapes, sending out armed parties to capture runaways, and punishing recaptured runaways.

When Indians did resist, they did not go unpunished; in many instances, it was punishment that caused the resistance. "Perhaps the most spectacular Indian rebellion in California during this era was the 1824 revolt at Missions La Purisima and Santa Barbara. The reason for the revolt was ill treatment and forced labor imposed by the soldiers and priests upon neophytes in the area, but the immediate cause was a fight that broke out at the flogging of a La Purisima neophyte at Santa Ynez in February. Apparently no one was killed but a large part of the mission buildings was destroyed by fire. That same afternoon as many as 2,000 Indians attacked and captured Mission La Purisima. . . . It was not until March 16 that the Spanish soldiers attacked the 400 defenders at La Purisima with hundreds of armed and mounted men and four pounder guns." (Heizer, 1978:103) The Indians who led the rebellion were punished. Seven Indians were put to death, while many others were imprisoned and required to do hard labor.

Another form of resistance involved the retention of native religious activities. "In general, the natives did their best to secretly preserve their ancient religion in the missions, although it became increasingly difficult to do so. Native revivals are known to have occurred as in the Santa Barbara area in 1801." (Forbes, 1969:35)

In looking at the mission system, it is easy to understand why the Indians resisted. In 1786, Jean Francois Galaup de La Perouse, a French navigator, made the following report. On the way into church, he passed a place where Indians were seated in rows by sex. "We repassed, on going out of church, the same row of male and female Indians, who had never quitted their post during Te Deum; the children only had removed a little. . . . On the right stands the Indian Village, consisting of about fifty cabins, which serve as dwelling places to seven hundred and forty persons of both sexes, comprising their children, which compose the mission. . . . These cabins are the most miserable that are to be met among any people; they are round, six feet in diameter by four in height. . . . The men and women are assembled by the sound of the bell. One of the religious conducts them to their work, to church, and to all their other exercises. We mention it with pain, the resemblance so perfect, that we saw men and women loaded with irons, others in the stocks; and at length the noise of the strokes of a whip struck our ears, this punishment being also admitted, but not exercised with much severity." (Fehrenbacher, 1964:100-101) Whether or not the flogging was exercised with "severity" is not the point, but rather, was this form of punishment necessary?

In 1799, Padre Antonio de la Concepcion Horra of Mission San Miguel enraged his contemporaries by reporting to the viceroy in Mexico, "The treatment shown to the Indians is the most cruel I have ever read in history. For the slightest things, they receive heavy flogging, are shackled and put in the stocks, and treated with so much cruelty that they are kept whole days without water.' The unfortunate padre was quickly isolated, declared insane, and taken under armed guard out of California." (Heizer, 1978:102) Other conditions that made the mission intolerable to the Indi-

ans included overcrowding, lack of native foods, and the weather (especially for inland Indians who were required to live on the coast for the entire year).

During the mission period, disease played a significant role in the reduction of the native population. Three major epidemics broke out during the Spanish period. In 1777, there was a respiratory epidemic; in 1802, a pneumonia and diphtheria epidemic; and in 1806, a measles epidemic. However, diseases were not the only cause for the rapid decline of the Indian population while under mission rule. Much of the decline can be attributed to changes in diet and inadequate nutrition. (Heizer, 1978:102-103) In 1818, Governor Vicente de Sola reported that 64,000 Indians had been baptized, and that 41,000 were dead. (Forbes, 1969:37)

Not everything was negative under Spanish and Mexican rule. In 1824, the constitution guaranteed citizenship to "all persons." While neither the Spanish nor the Mexicans acknowledged Indian land ownership, they did provide the natives with the right to continue to occupy their villages. Indians were also introduced to farming, and although both farming and cattle grazing had a devastating effect on the native habitat, the farming experience itself provided Indians with the skills necessary to survive in the upcoming years. During this period, many native people also learned crafts that helped them find employment once the Americans arrived.

Following Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821, there was a shift in the entire approach to Indian policy taken by the government. "In 1825 Lt. Col. Jose Maria Echeandia was appointed in Mexico to be governor of California and when he came north he brought with him new ideas of Mexican republicanism. . . . He also wished to abolish the missions. . . . In 1834-1836 Governor Jose Figueroa was finally forced by the Mexican government . . . to commence the formal secularization of the missions." (Forbes, 1969:39) The process of secularization provided that one half of the mission property would go to support the Indians, and half to support the priests and other officials. During this time, "the entire economy of the Mexican colony now shifted from the missions to the large landed estates of wealthy Mexicans." (Heizer, 1978:105)

As government emphasis changed from a mission approach to private enterprise, large land grants were given to Mexican citizens. This was necessary in order to put additional lands under Mexican rule. Naturalized citizens including John Marsh, John Sutter, John Bidwell, and others were awarded large land grants to settle for Mexico. "During the years 1830 to 1846 the interior native population suffered more extensively from brutality and violence than might perhaps be anticipated. Violence was a critical factor among tribes that resisted. . . . One such filibustering expedition was led by Jose Maria Amador in 1837. . . . According to Amador, his party:

' . . . invited the wild Indians and their Christian companions to come and have a feast of pinole and dried meat . . . the troops, the civilians, and the auxiliaries surrounded them and tied them up . . . we separated 100 Christians. At every half mile or mile we put six of them on their knees to say their prayers, making them understand that they were about to die. Each one was shot with four arrows. . . . Those who refused to die immediately were killed with spears. . . . We baptized all the Indians (non-Christians) and afterward they were shot in the back.' " (Heizer, 1978:105-106)

However, disease had a much greater effect on Indians than any act of violence. During this period, smallpox and scarlet fever had a devastating effect on the native population, killing thousands.

With the ranchos came a need for a labor force. Much like the missions, the ranchos used Indians to meet this need. Major landowners took advantage of the lack of unity among Indian groups. For example, they would make pacts with one Indian group, then require them to bring in other Indians to serve as laborers. Once the landowners had organized their labor force, they would exchange labor with other ranchers. Thus developed a system of labor that was virtually cost-free.

Another example of how Mexican landowners worked this labor system to their advantage is the case of Charles Weber. In 1845, Weber purchased William Gulnac's interest in a ranch in the area now known as Stockton. For 200 pesos, Weber purchased the land which Gulnac could not settle because of Indian resistance. On his arrival, he employed the same system John Sutter had used and made a pact with an Indian leader, Jose Jesus, an ex-mission neophyte. Jesus provided Weber with labor in exchange for goods. This type of arrangement became increasingly advantageous to Indians, because if they did not enter into a pact, the landowners would raid their villages and take the labor they needed anyway.

In February 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ceded sovereignty of Mexican lands, including California, to the United States. However, before the constitutional ideology of the American government could take effect here, the discovery of gold turned California into a land of confusion. After James Marshall's initial discovery, John Sutter and Charles Weber used Indians to mine the precious ore. As news of the discovery spread and more Europeans arrived in California, the Indians were soon forced out of mining. Initially, a group of men from Oregon ran the Indians out of the mines because they believed the jobs rightfully belonged to White men. With the miners' search for gold, the Sierra and other remote areas where Indians had retreated became prime locations for establishing claims. The dramatic rise in the White population during this era all but ensured the end of the claim to California by the Indians.

In summary, this era saw the beginning and the end of the mission period. Because of disease, homicide, and loss of their native environment and food sources, the Indian population in California decreased from 310,000 to approximately 100,000. With the secularization of the missions, the Indians were confronted with new problems of private ownership. In 1848, California came under the authority of the United States, and just as the Indians were becoming accustomed to the rancho system, the gold rush brought about a new era of Indian-settler relations.

1849-1879

Before 1845, the Spanish/Mexican population of California numbered only a few thousand. But by 1849, during the gold rush, the non-Indian population of California had grown to 100,000. The Indian population was already in a weakened condition, suffering from disease and lack of food, and from violent confrontations with the new landowners. Once the Americans arrived, California Indians were at an even greater disadvantage. With the lure of instant wealth in front of them, the new settlers wanted little to do with the Indians. The American approach to dealing with the Indians was summed up best by California historian Hubert Howe Bancroft:

That part of the early intercourse between aboriginal Americans and European which belongs to history may be briefly given, short work was made of it in California. The savages were in the way; the miners and settlers were arrogant and impatient; there were no missionaries or others present with even the poor pretense of soul sav-

ing or civilizing. It was one of the last human hunts of civilization, and the basest and most brutal of them all. (Bancroft, 1963a:474)

"The Indians had a precisely balanced relationship with their food supply. Soon after the arrival of the Americans serious depletion of that supply began to occur: mining operations adversely affected salmon fishing and destroyed fish dams." (Heizer, 1978:108) On the Americans' arrival, the large ranchos were broken up, and the new, more numerous landowners on smaller parcels of land were less tolerant of Indians. The small ranchos were farmed and grazed more intensively, and this caused an even greater reduction in the Indians' natural food supply. Jobs once belonging to Indians, especially skilled jobs, were taken by Whites.

We need only look at the early record of the California Legislature to understand the relationship of the Americans to the native population during this era. At the first State Constitutional Convention, those assembled voted to eliminate the Indians' right to vote because they feared the control Indians might exercise. In 1850, An Act for the Government and Protection of Indians was enacted by the first session of the State Legislature. This law set the tone for Indian-White relations to come.

The act provided for the following:

1. The Justice of the Peace would have jurisdiction over all complaints between Indians and Whites; "but in no case shall a white man be convicted of any offense upon the testimony of an Indian or Indians."
2. Landowners would permit Indians who were peaceably residing on their land to continue to do so.
3. Whites would be able to obtain control of Indian children. (This section would eventually be used to justify and provide for Indian slavery.)
4. If any Indian was convicted of a crime, any White person could come before the court and contract for the Indian's services, and in return, would pay the Indian's fine.
5. It would be illegal to sell or administer alcohol to Indians.
6. Indians convicted of stealing a horse, mule, cow, or any other valuable could receive any number of lashes not to exceed 25, and fines not to exceed \$200. (It should be noted that the law provided that abusing an Indian child by Whites was to be punished by no more than a \$10 fine. It is hard to compare the penalty with the crime.)
7. Finally, an Indian found strolling, loitering where alcohol was sold, begging, or leading a profligate course of life would be liable for arrest. The justice, mayor, or recorder would make out a warrant. Within 24 hours, the services of the Indian in question could be sold to the highest bidder. The term of service would not exceed four months.

This law was widely abused with regard to the use of Indians as laborers, though it did allow Indians to reside on private land.

During 1851 and 1852, the California Legislature authorized payment of \$1,100,000 for the "suppression of Indian hostilities. Again, in 1857, the Legislature issued bonds for \$410,000 for the same purpose." (Heizer, 1978:108) While theoretically attempting to resolve White-Indian conflicts, these payments only encouraged Whites to form volunteer companies and try to eliminate all the Indians in California.

In 1860, the law of 1850 was amended to state that Indian children and any vagrant Indian could be put under the custody of Whites for the purpose of employment and training. Under the law, it was possible to retain the service of Indians until 40 years of age for men and 35 years of age

for women. This continued the practice of Indian slavery and made it legal for Indians to be retained for a longer period of time and be taken at a younger age.

In 1862, the *Alta California* reported: "Little more than a hundred miles from San Francisco, in Mendocino County, the practice of Indian stealing is still extensively carried out. Only recently, George H. Woodman was caught near Ukiah with sixteen Indian children, as he was about to take them out of the county for sale. It is well known that a number of men in that region have for years made it their profession to capture and sell unfortunate juveniles, the price ranging from \$30 to \$150 depending on their quality." (Harrison, 1966:4)

This was not an isolated situation. U.S. Agent George Hanson reported: "A band of desperate men have carried on a system of kidnapping for two years past. Indian children were seized and carried into lower counties and sold into virtual slavery. . . . The kidnappers follow at the heels of the soldiers to seize these children when their parents are murdered to sell them at the best advantage." (Balin, 1971:18) When there was no other way, there was "a class of whites who systematically killed adults to get their children." (*Ibid.*, p. 19)

The other practice that provided much of the labor force, especially in southern California, was to have city officials pick up Indians as vagrants. These officials would then turn the Indians over to the ranchers and other people who needed laborers. This was all done under the provisions of the 1850 law. After four months or some other term of service, the employer would return the Indians to the city, usually to a place where alcohol was served. Shortly after their return, the Indians would be picked up once again as vagrants, and returned to the labor force.

These types of activities occurred until 1866, when, to comply with the 14th Amendment of the United States Constitution, the State Legislature repealed the law. The 14th Amendment provides that no state should infringe on any citizen's "privileges or immunities" nor "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," nor deny to any person "the equal protection of the law."



Kindergarten class at play [circa 1900]

While the state was enslaving and eliminating California natives, the federal government, in 1851, appointed three commissioners to negotiate treaties with California Indians. By 1852, 18 treaties had been negotiated with 139 tribes. The treaties were negotiated because the federal government perceived Indian tribes as foreign nations, and treaties were the legal means for developing an agreement and ensuring peace with them. The 18 treaties set aside 7,488,000 acres of land, or approximately one-third of California, for Indian use. This land settlement was similar to that negotiated with other tribes in other states. The treaties also provided funds for materials and food to allow the Indians to become self-sufficient. The treaties met with hostility in California. On January 16 and February 11, 1852, the State Senate concluded that the treaties "committed an error in assigning large portions of the richest mineral and agricultural lands to the Indians, who did not appreciate the land's value." (Ellison, 1925:4-5) The legislature instructed the United States senators from California to oppose ratification of the treaties, and called for the government to remove the Indians from the state as they had done in other states.

In February 1852, President Millard Fillmore submitted the 18 treaties to the United States Senate for ratification. The California senators were recognized and the Senate went into secret session to discuss the treaties. During this session, the Senate failed to ratify the treaties, and by order, they were placed in secret files, where they remained for the next 53 years. In 1871, the United States Congress declared that it would no longer negotiate treaties with American Indians.

Although the United States Government failed to ratify the treaties, it did continue the policy of setting up reservations and moving the Indians to them. However, no attempt was made to negotiate new treaties. In 1852, while not acknowledging any claims of California Indians to the land, the United States appointed Edward F. Beale as the first Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California. Beale's plan was to establish five reserves on which the Indians would reside. Congress appropriated \$250,000, and in September 1853, Beale gathered some 2,000 Indians and established the 50,000-acre Tejon Reserve. By focusing all his effort at Tejon, Beale neglected some 61,000 hungry natives. "Beale declared that humanity must yield to necessity, they are not dangerous, therefore they must be neglected." (Heizer, 1978:110) In 1854, Beale was removed from his post. However, based on the information he acquired as superintendent, Beale eventually gained control of the reservation land.

Congress appointed Col. Thomas J. Henley as the new superintendent in 1854. Henley, following Beale's original plan, established the Nome Lackee Reservation; Nome Cult, Mendocino; Fresno Indian Farm; and Kings River Indian Farm. However, Henley did not act in the best interest of California Indians. The reservations suffered from lack of water. Squatters grazed their cattle on the unfenced land and destroyed crops that were being raised to support the Indians. "Most of these squatters were business partners or relatives of Henley and, therefore, impossible to remove." (Heizer, 1978:110) It is important to note that all of these early reserves eventually left federal ownership, and the Indians who resided on them were once again forced to move to other lands to make new homes. Every time Indians were removed, the commissioners prospered.

In 1870, in an attempt to get away from corrupt superintendents and to convert the Indians to Christianity, the federal government turned over operation of the reservations to the Quaker Church. In California, the Methodists, Baptists, and other churches eventually took on management of the reservations. While the new management was not corrupt and was far better for the general welfare of the Indians, the church was less tol-

erant of Indians continuing their traditional beliefs. Thus, the reservations became missions and the first tools under American control to be used in assimilating Indians into the general population. Once again, California Indians were confronted with change and forced to adapt from being prisoners-of-war to being wards of the church.

The 1870s saw two other important events in California Indian history. The first event centered on a Nevada Indian prophet who proclaimed that the end of the world was near. "The most consistent manifestation of this resurgence of native religion was the belief the end of the world was near and that the dead would return with the disappearance of the whites." (Heizer, 1978:113) Part of the effort in the attempt to eliminate the Whites was to sing and dance the traditional songs. While the prophet's dreams were never realized, the Ghost Dance, as it was called, spread throughout much of California. While the return to religious activities did not result in the return of the dead, it did encourage traditional activities among the California Indians. The second event was the Modoc War of 1872-73. A group of Modoc Indians, led by Captain Jack, fought the United States Army from a lava bed stronghold. Even though the Modocs were greatly outnumbered, it took the army more than a year to squash the rebellion. This was the last armed resistance by California Indians.

In 1872, the California Constitution was amended to allow Indians to testify in courts of law. Up to this point "his testimony was not admissible in evidence. Not being a reservation Indian, he could not appeal to the United States courts, and, [was] ignored by both State and Nation. . . ." (Northern California Indian Association, 1906)

In summary, this period saw the establishment of California as a state. With statehood, laws were passed that infringed on the rights of Indian people to occupy their homelands, and caused them to be used much like slaves. It was not until the enactment of the 14th Amendment that these rights were restored. Treaties were negotiated and rejected; reservations established, dissolved, and reinstated; and Indians were still in a period of unrest.

1880-1904

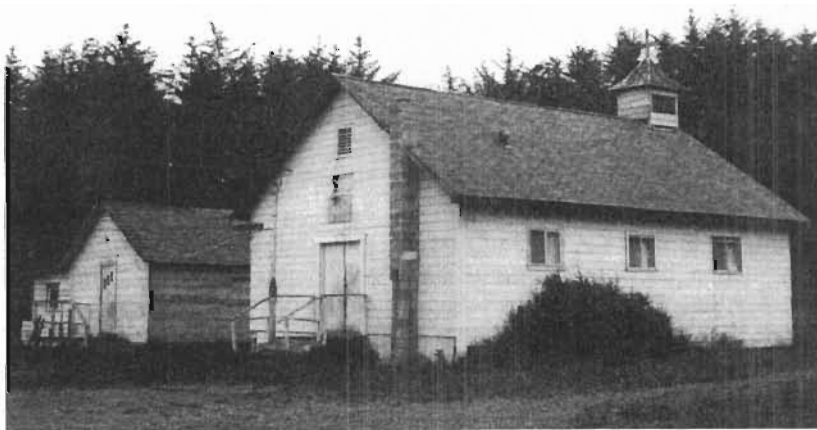
In the 1880s, there was increased public awareness of the problems California Indians were confronting. While the problems were rarely analyzed, many people helped to improve the quality of life for Indians. There was an effort to improve the education of Indians through schools, and to provide them with land to better their economic conditions so that Indians could become full citizens of the United States of America.

In the early 1880s, Helen Hunt Jackson wrote *A Century of Dishonor* and sent a copy of her book to each United States congressman. She was then appointed to a commission to examine the condition of Indians in Southern California. Her visits resulted in *The Report on the Condition and Needs of the Mission Indians of California*, by special agents Helen Jackson and Abbot Kinney. The report summarized the problems and concerns of Southern California Indians; many of the conditions outlined in the report, however, were applicable to all California Indians. The report noted that Indians had been continually displaced from their land. She also noted that while many Indians had taken "immoral" paths, others had chosen the responsibilities of herding animals and raising crops. In her report, she also noted that the United States government had done little to right the wrongs of the past. While Jackson did not solve all the problems of Southern California Indians, her work did bring their concerns to the attention of the American public and Congress.

One recurring concern was the lack of education and training necessary for survival in American society. The government, as well as Jackson, saw education as a way of assimilating Indians into the mainstream of United States society. Reports from the Secretary of the Interior and the Bureau of Indian Affairs at that time expressed the goals of the government in relation to the educational process. In 1908, one report stated, "the rooms held three or four each and it was arranged that no two tribes were placed in the same room. This not only helped in the acquirement of English, but broke up tribal and race clannishness, a most important victory in getting Indians toward real citizens." (Spicer, 1969:235) An earlier report stated, "I can see no reason why a strong government like ours should not govern and control them [Indians] and compel each one to settle down and stay in one place, his own homestead, wear the white man's clothing, labor for his own support, and send his children to school." (Spicer, 1969:236) Other people had even stronger ideas. For instance, George Ellis, in his book, *The Red Man and the White Man in North America*, wrote, "The Indian must be made to feel he is in the grasp of a superior." (Ellis 1882:572) In opposition to this view, the Indian Rights Association was formed in 1882. This Indian advocate group would play a powerful role in formulating Indian policy in upcoming years.

While the approaches differed, all agreed that education was necessary. "In California, three types of educational programs were established for native peoples. The first was the Federal Government reservation day school. The second type was the boarding school, fashioned after Carlisle. And finally, the nearby public school that allowed Indians to attend began a slow, though steady, increase in popularity among policy makers." (Heizer, 1978:115) While the public schools seemed the best alternative, most Indians did not have the right to attend these schools until the 1920s.

In 1881, an elementary school system for Indians was established in California. However, the Indians soon recognized that the schools were a threat to their culture, as well as to the tribe as a political unit. "As a result, considerable resistance to the schools developed. Native peoples destroyed the day school at Potrero in 1888, and burned the school at Tule River in 1890. At Pachanga, a Luiseno named Ventura Molido, burned the school and assassinated the school teacher in 1895." (Heizer, 1978:115) Much of the destruction and violence could have been avoided if the school system and the government had recognized the great importance the Indians placed on being able to maintain their cultural beliefs. In 1891,



Smith River Shaker Church, Del Norte County

school attendance was made mandatory. But while attendance was mandatory, there were still Indian children who did not attend.

In 1901, the first Indian hospital in California was established at Sherman Institute in Riverside. Sherman later became a boarding school for Indian children. While hospitals and other facilities improved conditions for California Indians, most Indians were still without homes.

During this period, another major focus was on the acquisition of land for Indians. Probably the most interesting example of the way land was acquired is evidenced by the Yokayo Pomo in 1881: "After collecting nearly \$1,000 from their people, the head man selected a 120-acre site near the Russian River and made the down payment. The Yokayo groups prospered; they paid the entire balance owed on their land, and even saved enough to purchase farm machinery shortly thereafter." (Heizer, 1978:118)

A major tool the government used in trying to assimilate Indians during this time was the General Allotment Act of 1887, also known as the Dawes Act, which appeared to be generally advantageous to Indians. However, the major intent of the act was to break down the role of tribal government. The act itself provided that each Indian living on a reservation would receive a 160-acre allotment of land per family unit, and each single man would receive 80 acres if the reservation had enough land. If there was not enough land, other provisions were made. Indians not residing on a reservation would be entitled to settle on any surveyed or unsurveyed government lands not appropriated. The lands allotted would be held in trust for 25 years by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. If all other provisions of the act were met, that is, if the Indians made use of the lands for agriculture and became self-sufficient, then the land would become the property of the individual. "Native people understood full well the implications of allotment and offered considerable resistance. Nevertheless, the Bureau of Indian Affairs began ordering allotments of various sizes at Rincon, Morongo, and Pala Reservations in 1893. . . . The next year, allotments were begun at Round Valley Reservation. By the turn of the century, 1,614 individual allotments were made among eight reservations in the state." (Heizer, 1978:117)

Long before the passage of the Dawes Act, people recognized that problems would occur from its implementation. In 1881, Senator Henry Moore Teller of Colorado spoke in opposition to an earlier form of the Allotment Act. Senator Teller concluded, "If I stand alone in the Senate, I want to put upon the record my prophecy in this matter, that when 30 or 40 years shall have passed and these Indians shall have parted with their title, they will curse the hand that was raised professedly in their defense to secure this kind of legislation, and if the people who are clamoring for it understood Indian character and Indian laws, and Indian morals, and Indian religion, they would not be here clamoring for this at all." (Spicer, 1969:234) The senator would soon be proven correct.

Other Indians, such as the Cupenos from Warner Springs, chose to fight for their lands in the courts. With the assistance of the Indian Rights Association, they began a suit to stop their eviction from their home at the Warner Ranch. In 1888, they won a favorable decision which temporarily stopped their eviction. However, the case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court, and in 1903, the Cupenos were evicted from their home.

Still other Indians chose to purchase land which was once theirs and reside on it. However, not every transaction was fair. In 1904, the *San*

San Francisco Chronicle reported that Indians who bought land from Whites were being dispossessed by the heirs of the granters, who gave no valid titles. "The Northern California Indian Association reported that about 10,000 Indians lived on land to which whites hold title. They were subject to eviction 'at any time.' The Indians are recognized for what they are not, usually competent to compete with white men in economic struggle. . . . Congress should buy lands for Indians in locations where they now are and allot them small farms in severalty. . . . It is also asked that their status as to citizenship be satisfactorily established. This petition is now before congress. It should be granted for justice and honesty. . . ." (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 1904).

The struggle for homes would continue.

In 1905, Indians became more involved in matters concerning them. With the rediscovery of the 18 lost treaties, Indians and their supporters began a drive for land, better education, the rights of citizenship, and settlement of the unfulfilled treaty conditions. This period held victories for Indians as well as the beginning of many battles that would take a long time to resolve.

1905-1933

"Senate action on the treaties was secret. And thus the matter rested, gathering dust in the archives of the government until clerks working in the secret Senate files found the slumbering treaties. That was in 1905." (Footnigh, 1954:24) Thus the California land claims case began. As early as 1909, the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco was looking into the matter of Indian rights under the 18 treaties. "And in 1924 a special section on Indian Affairs was formed for the purpose of making a complete study of the rights, wrongs, and present condition of California Indians." (Johnson, 1966:36)

"Another group that was active in this area was the Native Sons of the Golden West. Study committees were formed and publicity as to the needs of the California Indians appeared in its magazine, *The California Grizzly Bear*. In 1922 and again in 1925, there were articles of real importance in arousing public opinion. There were many other groups active in the cause of the California Indians: among them were the Indian Welfare Committee of the Federated Women's Clubs, the California Indian Rights Association, Inc., the Northern California Indian Association, the Mission Indian Federation, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union." (Johnson, 1966:36)

"The early 1920s witnessed the evolution of the powerful Mission Indian Federation in southern California. The Federation was headed by a White man, Jonathan Tibbets of Riverside, but like the Indian Board of Cooperation, the Federation had a large body of Indian members. Non-Indians dominated many meetings and urged the membership to follow their advice. However, the Bureau of Indian Affairs soon grew intolerant of all these Indian concern groups and provoked an incident that persuaded many people that Indian grievances were indeed legitimate. 'At the Federal meetings expressions of ill will or hostility to the government were occasionally heard. Grievances were aired and complaints, both legitimate and trivial, were uttered. As a result and under orders of the Department of Justice, some 57 Indians were placed under arrest on the charge of conspiracy against the government. Upon arraignment they were dismissed without bail.' " (Heizer, 1978:715)

Another organization which has already been mentioned was the Indian Board of Cooperation. The board was founded in 1910 by a Methodist minister, Fredrick Collett. "The policy of the Board is to encourage

the Indians to do for themselves everything that they can, and to assist them in the doing of these things that they can not do without help." The Board's objectives included organizing Indians, obtaining passage of a bill so Indians could present their claims to the United States Court of Claims, obtaining legal services, ensuring funds appropriated for Indians be used for the Indians' best interest, and promoting all movements intended to enhance the welfare of Indians. (*California Indian Herald*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1923:11) In 1919, the board established auxiliaries which were small Indian organizations that acted on the local level and raised funds for the board through memberships and special events. The Indian Board of Cooperation assisted Indians on many issues over the next decades. By May 1924, the board boasted 88 auxiliaries, with a membership of 10,400. (*California Indian Herald*, 1924:2) While Indians could belong to the auxiliaries, the board was made up of Whites. Most of the funds the board used for operation were obtained from Indians who paid between four and six dollars each to be members. Thus, much of the cost of financing the early land claims case came from Indians themselves.

California Indians obtained the opportunity to file in the United States Court of Claims when the Indian Board of Cooperation assisted in filing what came to be known as the "Test Case." "The suit is brought as a test case to establish the rights of all tribes and bands of California Indians whose lands were taken from them without fair compensation." (*California Indian Herald*, 1923:4) The case involved 1,008 square miles located in the Klamath National Forest, in Humboldt and Siskiyou counties. The case asked what legal rights the government had to the land. While the Indians never won back the land in question, the case did raise an important question: Did Indians have a right to redress for the lands lost?

In 1927, the California Legislature enacted "An act to authorize the attorney general to bring suit against the United States in the court of claims in behalf of the Indians of the State of California in the event that the Congress of the United States authorizes the same." (Johnson, 1966:37) For the first time, California Indians had the support of the California Legislature in their effort to seek redress for the settlements made in the 18 treaties that were not ratified.

In 1928, the United States Congress passed the California Indian Jurisdictional Act, also known as the Lea Act. The law provided that "... by defining California Indians as those who resided in the state on June 1, 1852 and their descendants now living in the state. . . . All claims of whatsoever nature of the Indians . . . be submitted to the Court of Claims by the Attorney General of the State of California acting for and on behalf of said Indians . . . with the right of either party to appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. . . . It is hereby declared that the loss to said Indians on account of their failure to secure the lands and compensation provided for in the eighteen unratified treaties is sufficient ground for equitable relief . . . the value of any lands so granted could not be in excess of \$1.25 per acre." (Johnson, 1966:37) The law signified the legal beginning of the land claims case. "While the Lea Act had, as indicated, some undesirable features, it was a step forward, as it was the first act of Congress of this nature after twenty years of effort." (Johnson, 1966:35)

"With the rediscovery, in 1905, of the 'lost' treaties of 1851, public opinion began to favor the Indians. Between 1906 and 1910, legislation was passed appropriating funds which were used to purchase many small tracts of land in central and north central California for the landless Indians of those areas. These tracts today are the bulk of those Indian lands known as 'rancherias.' " (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1966:13) While the act provided lands for many Indians, still others had to go to the legislature to ask for

help. A 77-year-old Pit River man stated: "My people are homeless. They are driven from place to place by the white men on whose property they seek refuge. The Washington Government does not aid us. Our children are not wanted in the schools. We have no medical aid for our sick. We have no implements, nor lands for farming. My people are willing to work. Give us a place in the desert and we will be happy." (*California Indian Herald*, 1923:13) So even in the 1920s, the problem of homeless Indians continued though the issue of land was at last being addressed.

The lack of land was not the only problem confronting Indians. "General conditions in the Far West were far from good in 1919-1920, after more than a half-century of conquest. McDowell wrote in 1919 of the majority of California Indians 'that more than all else, they have for generations been treated by their white neighbors as an inferior people and have been accepting that appraisal quite as a matter of course. . . . They get their own living with the work of their own hands. . . . With apparently few exceptions, the California Indians are seasonal, or casual, work people. The earning time for the great majority is the growing seasons. . . . [Others] of them find employment in sawmills, on the surface of mines, in logging camps, and on railroads and public roads. During sheep shearing season these Indians are in demand. . . . They herd cattle, milk cows, and do general farm labor. The women who live near cities and towns go out by day as domestics and laundresses.' " (Forbes, 1969:74) The general welfare of California Indians continued to be poor, but they resumed their efforts to gain civil rights.

Indians began to view education differently in this era. Much of this change in attitude may have derived from the support groups that assisted them. While many Indians continued to attend boarding schools and day schools, more Indians began to attend public school in California. "In 1915 only 316 Indian pupils were attending public school in California but by 1919 this number had increased to 2199." (Forbes, 1967:73) In 1917, the federal government decided to have Indians attend public schools. Even after this policy was adopted, however, the right to attend public school was not granted to every Indian child. "Between the 1920's and early 1940's, the Bureau of Indian Affairs ceased to have any appreciable role in California-Nevada Indian education, thanks in great measure to Indian efforts to establish local public schools or to gain admittance to existing schools. The latter was facilitated by the case of *Piper vs. Big Pine School District* (1924) in which Indians won the right to attend public schools." (Forbes, 1969:118)

In 1917, a major victory for Indians occurred when the California Supreme Court decided that California Indians were citizens. In 1922, 50 Hoopa Indians took advantage of citizenship and voted in the general election. They had to travel 24 miles to do so, but "for the first time in their history voted as free-born American citizens." (*California Indian Herald*, 1923:14). While California Indians had been acknowledged as citizens, it was not until June 2, 1924 that the Indian Citizenship Act was passed. Among other things the Indian Citizenship Act contained one provision of special interest to California Indians: "That the granting of such citizenship shall not in any manner impair or otherwise affect the right of any to tribal or other property." The granting of citizenship came 100 years after the Indians were first granted citizenship by the Mexican government. It also came after more than 10,000 Indians had fought in the First World War.

The granting of citizenship in 1924 should have guaranteed Indians their First Amendment right of religious freedom. However, as late as the 1920s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs made a deliberate effort to control and

Old School House at Ft. Bidwell, Modoc County



in some cases eliminate the Indians' ability to practice their religious beliefs. "On April 26, 1921, during the Secretaryship of Albert B. Fall, Commissioner Charles H. Burke of the Bureau of Indian Affairs addressed to all Indian Superintendents (Indian Agents) a document called Circular 1665. He stated: 'The sundance and all other similar dances and so called religious ceremonies are considered 'Indian Offenses' under existing regulations and corrective penalties are provided. I regard such restrictions as applicable to any (religious) dance which involves . . . the reckless giving away of property . . . frequent and prolonged periods of celebration . . . in fact, any disorderly or plainly excessive performance that promotes superstitions, cruelty, licentiousness, idleness, danger of health, and shiftless indifference of family welfare. In all such instance, the regulations should be enforced.'" (Indian Defense Association of Central and Northern California)

On February 14, 1923, a supplement to Circular 1665 was issued. Some of the main features of the amendment were that "Indian dances be limited to one day in the midweek and at one center of each district; the months of March, April, June, July and August being exempted (no dances in these months). That none take part in the dances or be present who are under 50 years of age. That a careful propaganda be undertaken to educate public opinion against the (Indian religious) dance." (*Ibid.*)

“Then on February 24, 1923, the Commissioner broadcasted a ‘Message to All Indians.’ It read: ‘I could issue an order against these useless and harmful performances, but I would rather have you give them up of your own free will, and, therefore, I ask you in this letter to do so. If at the end of one year the reports which I receive show that you are doing as requested, I shall be glad, for I shall know that you are making progress -- but if the reports show that you reject this plea, then some other course will have to be taken.’ ” (*Ibid.*)

The restriction on religion led John Collier to write: “Now today, this late date, the Indian Bureau has commenced a new onslaught. The Indians are deeply and universally religious. They still know how as tribes to follow ancient paths leading to the water of heaven. United in this life of religion, they can still stand up together as men, and they can still cling to their coveted remnants of soil. They can resist the efforts to turn them into drifting social half-breeds slave-driven by 6,000 Indian Bureau job holders who make their living ‘civilizing’ the Indians. Therefore, an actual inquisition shall be elaborated against their adult worship. Their treasure of the soul which no man yet has known enough to be able to estimate shall be forcibly thrown away; their last liberty and last dignity and their end of life, which they know to be God, shall be denied.” (*Ibid.*)

So the passing of the Citizenship Act in 1924 meant much more than the right to vote; it meant that all constitutional guarantees would be afforded to this country’s first inhabitants. While freedom of religion is one of those rights, it was more than 50 years before the Indians’ constitutional right of religion would be guaranteed.

During the next three decades, California Indians continued to experience ups and downs. In 1934, two major pieces of legislation were enacted that affected California Indians: the Indian Reorganization Act and the Johnson-O’Malley Act. Of these, the Indian Reorganization Act probably had the more far-reaching effects. First, the act provided for keeping Indian land in trust; it returned to the tribe reservation land that remained surplus after allotments; and it restricted the granting of rights-of-way over reservation lands, restricted release of lands, and provided for the Secretary of the Interior to purchase inholdings in the reservation for Indian use. The act also ordered that forests on Indian lands be managed on a sustained-yield basis, authorized \$250,000 to defray the expenses of organizing Indian-chartered corporations or other organizations under the act, and provided \$10,000,000 for a revolving fund to promote economic development. Finally, the act provided for loans to Indians to attend trade or vocational schools.

1934-1964

“The viewpoint underlying the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 was most fully and clearly expressed by John Collier, as in this memorandum written while he was Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1943: ‘I see the broad function of Indian policy and Indian administration to be the development of Indian democracy and equality within the framework of American and world democracy. . . . The most significant clue to achieving full Indian democracy with and as a part of American democracy, is the continued survival, through all historical change and disaster, of the Indian Tribal group, both as a real entity and a legal entity. I suspect the reason we do not always give this fact the recognition it deserves is that we do not want to recognize it. . . . Congress through the Indian Reorganization Act, invoked the tribe as a democratic operational mechanism. . . . We can divest ourselves of the lingering fear that tribalism is a regression, and we can look upon it as a most important single step in assimilating Indians to modern democratic life. . . . Indians have the right of self-

determination. . . . The Indian office is moving from guardian to advisor, from administrator to friend in court. . . .” (Spicer, 1969:247-248)

The Indian Reorganization Act was based on the assumption that the way to assimilate Indians into American society was to have tribal government work as a democracy, much as the United States government operates. This was a reversal in attitude from the Dawes Act of 1887, which attempted to disband Indian tribal organization. However, both acts sought in different ways the goal of Indian self-determination.

Another important piece of legislation was “the Johnson O’Malley Act which provided federal funding to local school districts to pay costs for reservation residents in lieu of local taxes.” (Heizer, 1978:125) This act removed the only remaining argument against Indian children attending public schools. It also provided that Indian children no longer needed to be moved long distances from their homes and families to attend school, even though some still chose to do so.

Toward the end of World War II and immediately thereafter, Indians began to establish organizations. The major difference between these organizations and earlier ones was that Indians governed them. Three important organizations that were established were the Native American Church, the National Congress of American Indians, and the Federated Indians of California.

The Congress of American Indians was established “to enlighten the public toward a better understanding of the Indian people; to preserve Indian cultural values; to seek an equitable adjustment to tribal affairs and tribal claims; to secure and to preserve rights under Indian treaties or agreements with the United States; to promote the common welfare of the American Indian; and to foster the continued loyalty and allegiance of the American Indians to the flag of the United States. . . .” (Spicer, 1969:290)

The Native American Church was established for a much different purpose, the advancement of Native American religion. The reasons for its establishment are found in the church’s preamble and articles of incorporation, which state, “Whereas, The ‘human rights’ of all citizens of our country are guaranteed and protected by amendment 1 to the Constitution of our country . . . this corporation is formed to foster and promote religious believers in Almighty God and the customs of the several Tribes of Indians throughout the United States in the worship of a Heavenly Father and to promote morality, sobriety, industry, charity, and the right living and cultivate a spirit of self-respect and brotherly love and union among the members. . . .” (Spicer, 1969:288)

Finally, the Federated Indians of California was established for a very specific reason. “In 1944 the Court of Claims awarded the California Indian their first substantial judgment, netting them approximately \$5,000,000.” (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1966:13) However, in establishing the \$5,000,000 amount, the court followed the mandate of the Lea Act, which provided “. . . a gross recovery, the benefits which were to have been paid to only 1/3 to 1/2 of them under the 18 unratified treaties of 1851-1852. By this proposed settlement this figure is now established at \$17,816,624.48. From this figure must be deducted . . . the subsequent specific benefits granted by the government to all of the Indians . . . this amount is fixed at \$12,650,761.02.” (Kenny, 1944:44) Benefits granted to the Indians included items such as thread, thimbles, needles, hoes, etc. However, the vast majority of the \$12,000,000 covered administrative costs of running the Bureau of Indian Affairs in California. Add to this those

funds misspent early on, and it is easy to see that Indians actually received very little benefit from the \$12,000,000.

The proposed \$5,000,000 settlement caused an uproar. In response to the controversy, the government established the Indian Land Claims Commission in 1946. Because Indians were no longer willing to allow non-Indians to push the Indian cause, in 1947 the Federal Indians of California was founded. The group submitted an \$88,000,000 claim as a proposed settlement above and beyond the \$5,000,000 already awarded. The 100 delegates present adopted a resolution granting the executive committee the power to hire legal counsel and press the claim. (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1966:13)

Much of the activity occurring after World War II was the result of Indians being introduced to a wider perspective. "Now, war as we know it is a horrible thing, but the war did one thing for our Indian people as it did for so many representatives of many ethnic groups. It took them out of their environment, and it scattered them all over the world, as well as the United States, and they saw how the other half lived." (Harrison, 1966:11) Many Indians returned from the war more aware of the way in which governments worked. The war had shown them how the rest of the world lived, and they were no longer satisfied with what was previously theirs. Some returned to their groups with this newly developed knowledge, while others ventured out on their own.

Following World War II, a movement called "termination" began. Termination was to be a process of removing Indians and their land from federal trust. "After the war, as the United States spent millions of dollars rebuilding Germany and Japan, the government hoped to rid itself of its embarrassing failure to 'rebuild' Indian nations by simply withdrawing government aid to Indian people. This philosophy was expressed in the Hoover Commission survey of 1948." (Heizer, 1978:122)

The 1950s saw the beginning of the Hoover Commission's recommendation to initiate termination. "California Indian tribes were to be among the first targets for termination. The commissioner of Indian affairs who inaugurated this policy, Dillon Meyer, was principally known as the man responsible for administering Japanese-American concentration camps during World War II. In 1952, the Bureau of Indian Affairs began to energetically push termination: the Indian Service introduced to Congress several termination bills specifically for California, and in anticipation of that policy, the government ended all Indian Service welfare payments to pauper Indians in the state." (Heizer, 1978:122)

Also in 1950, the first \$5,000,000 settlement was distributed to Indians in California. "Congress finally adopted legislation providing \$150 for each California Indian (leaving a portion of the award still in the U.S. Treasury)." (Forbes, 1969:106) However, by 1951, 23 separate claims had been filed with the Indian Land Claims Commission for additional relief.

The first law that actually initiated termination was in the field of criminal justice. "In 1953 Congress passed Public Law 280, which brought California Indian Reservations under the criminal and civil jurisdiction of the state." (Heizer, 1978:122) Crime occurring on the reservation was no longer the responsibility of the United States government. This new law caused much confusion and resulted in poor protection for Indians on reservations. It was frequently reported that many county sheriffs would arrive three or four days late for emergency situations. In 1957, California Indians called unsuccessfully for repeal of the act.

In late 1952, another issue was brought to the attention of the public. "Twenty-two young Indians, veterans of World War II and Korea, claimed they cannot buy shaving lotion because it contains alcohol. They have formed an Indian Right Organization to fight what they call 'this new menace to the Indian.'" (*Sacramento Bee*, Dec. 29, 1952, p. 1) However, this was not the first time that the problem had been brought to the attention of the government. In 1946, Indians, in a hearing in Eureka, requested that the prohibition against the sale of alcohol to Indians be lifted. In April 1953, Governor Earl Warren signed into law Senate Bill 344, which for the first time in 81 years made it legal for "full blooded Indians" to purchase alcohol. (*Sacramento Bee*, Apr. 9, 1953, p. 10)

In 1954, the process of termination moved closer to reality through House Resolution 108 the intent of which was "as rapidly as possible to make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States. . . . Indian tribes and the individual members thereof, located within the States of California [and other states] . . . should be freed from Federal supervision and control and from all disabilities and limitations specially applicable to Indians. . . ." (Spicer, 1969:218)

"The California Legislature had endorsed the idea of termination in 1953 but during 1954 made an abrupt change, largely as a result of the hearings conducted by the State Senate Interim Committee on Indian Affairs. The committee found that most reservations were simply unprepared for termination, with a multitude of problems often including undefined boundaries, no roads, no water, no sanitation, substandard housing, and 2,600 complicated heirship cases. The state was unwilling to accept the financial responsibility for correcting the failures of bureau management and opposed the BIA [Bureau of Indian Affairs] termination legislation." (Forbes, 1969:112)

"In 1954, a conference of social scientists, mainly anthropologists, met under the chairmanship of former Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs John H. Provinse for the purpose of pooling their knowledge and bringing it to bear on federal Indian policy. A portion of the statement they produced follows. 'An assumption which seems to underlie the basic philosophy of much of the United States approach centers about the idea that assimilation of the American Indian into the normal stream of American life is inevitable, that Indian tribes and communities will disappear. There was complete agreement on the part of the discussants that this prediction is unwarranted. . . . Group feeling and group integrity among the American Indian are as likely to gain strength in the decades ahead as they are to lose it.'" (Spicer, 1969:249-250)

Again in 1957, the process of termination was initiated. "In 1957-58, the State Senate Interim Committee conducted another investigation and found that 'with minor exceptions . . . very little has been done to carry out the recommendations set forth in the [1954-55] report' to prepare Indian reserves for termination. In spite of that fact, the committee in 1957 recommended termination legislation. . . ." (Forbes, 1969:112-113)

In 1958, the Rancheria Termination Act was enacted. "The law provides for the distribution of all rancheria land and assets and directs that a plan be prepared for each rancheria outlining to whom and how the assets shall be distributed. Such a plan, when approved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and accepted by the participant, becomes the operating program under which title is transferred from the Government to the Indians." (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1966:16) While plans were developed

and termination proceeded, many of the plans were not implemented. However, "In response to the pressures of termination, the land claims case, and other issues, on May 3, 1958, Inter Tribal Council of California (ITCC) was founded. The Council was the successor to the California Indian Congress, which was disbanded at the formation of the new group. The purpose of ITCC is to protect Indian land ownership, preserve established privileges and immunities, and promote understanding and unity and preserve cultural values." (*Los Angeles Times*, May 5, 1958, pp. 4, 9)

In 1959, the problems with termination were temporarily forgotten. "In that year, the Indian Claims Commission issued an order stating that the Indians of California had aboriginal title, as of 1853, to approximately 64 million acres of California land west of the Sierra Nevada." (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1966:20) A settlement of \$29,100,000 was awarded as redress. This amounted to approximately 47 cents per acre. The Indian Claims Commission approved the settlement in 1964, and Congress appropriated the funds that same year.

A new era for Indians was about to begin, and just as the social scientists had predicted in 1954, tribal governments and tribal identity did play an important role. "Nationally the civil rights movement ushered in an era of social consciousness among White Americans. In conjunction with the end of the claims and termination issues among native leadership, the climate was again ripe for reform in Indian affairs." (Heizer, 1978:716)

1965-1980

As previously mentioned, the Indian Claims Commission awarded California Indians \$29,100,000 as redress for land from which they had been evicted. While most California Indians eventually would accept the payment, some would not. Members of the Pit River and Feather River groups opposed the settlement. So, when the settlement was awarded, many Indian people were not satisfied with the 47 cents per acre they were to receive.

During the 1960s and 1970s, people who had not previously identified themselves as Indians began to do so. A new awareness was rising, and with this came an increase in the number of Indians listed in the census. However, another program that had an effect on the number of Indians in California was the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) program of relocation. "During the war about 23,000 Indian men and 800 Indian women served in the armed forces, and an estimated 46,000 Indians left the reservation to find employment. Many remained to make California their home. Then, in 1950, the BIA established a job-placement program . . . [and] the program to assimilate Indians into the mainstream expanded from that point. Strangely, the BIA didn't keep records of its relocation program, but nearly 100,000 Indians were relocated to California between 1952-1968 to find employment lacking on reservations. . . ." (*Sacramento Bee*, Sept. 6, 1982, p. 23) Indian people who had lived on reservations were now faced with the new problems of living in an urban environment and the inability to find services. Many were just not ready to live in a city.

In 1964, a monumental case concerning Indian religion occurred in California. On April 28, 1962, a group of Navajos met in Needles to perform a religious ceremony in which peyote was used. Peyote is a drug derived from the buttons of the mescal cactus. The Indians were arrested and tried for violating the law which prohibited unauthorized possession of the drug. Judge Mathew O. Tobriner of the California Supreme Court issued the court's decision. In responding to a lower court's verdict, Tobriner wrote, "The court ruled to deny Indian use of peyote was a violation of

their religious freedom. 'We preserve a greater value than an ancient tradition when we protect the rights of the Indian who honestly practices an old religion. . . . ' ' (35 CAL Reporter, 1964:708) At this point, public consciousness began to recognize Indian religion and the value it had to the Indian people.

The year 1964 also saw the formation of the American Indian Historical Society by Rupert Costo, a Southern California Indian. "The AIHS was especially concerned with bringing an Indian viewpoint to bear upon historical writing but it also became concerned with many related issues including the white biases of school textbooks and the non-Indian orientation of school curricula." (Forbes, 1969:120) Since its formation, the society has published *The Indian Historian*, and from 1973 until recently, it published the *Wassaja*, an Indian newspaper.

The 1960s and 1970s brought the concept of Indian self determination to reality. Indian Self Determination is a program in which Indians determine their future through the development of policies that meet their needs as they have defined them. It is too early to say if the program is a success. However, an early example of Indians having control over their lives was evidenced in the California Indian Health Demonstration Project. "This project originated in the State Department of Public Health, Bureau of Maternal and Child Health in 1967. Nine projects were set up among reservation communities throughout the state. Funded by state and federal health departments, these pilot projects stressed Indian participation and control and have acted as a catalyst for community cooperation in bringing medical and dental services to rural and reservation Indians. . . . By 1973, sixteen projects had been set up. . . ." (Heizer, 1978:124) With the formation of the California Rural Indian Health Board in 1969, an Indian-controlled coordinating body took charge.

In 1967, the California Indian Education Association was founded. In October of that year, a conference in North Fork, California ". . . brought together about 200 Indians who thoroughly analyzed the problems involved in Indian education. . . . Basically, the North Fork Conference called for increased Indian involvement at all levels of the education process. It especially emphasized the role of the Indian family and community in the education of children and advocated the development of Indian-directed out-of-school educational projects. Stress was placed upon the value of the native heritage. The North Fork Conference also called for the restoration of Johnson O'Malley funds. . . ." (Forbes, 1969:121) With the formation of the California Rural Indian Health Board, the American Indian Historical Society, and the California Indian Education Association, California Indians were involved in the process of controlling their past, present, and future.



Ya-Ka-Ama Indian School, Sonoma County

The acknowledgment of Indians continued in 1968 when Governor Ronald Reagan signed a resolution calling for the fourth Friday of each September to be American Indian Day in California. This acknowledgment has done much to inform the general public about Indian heritage and the problems that are confronted by Indians in California.

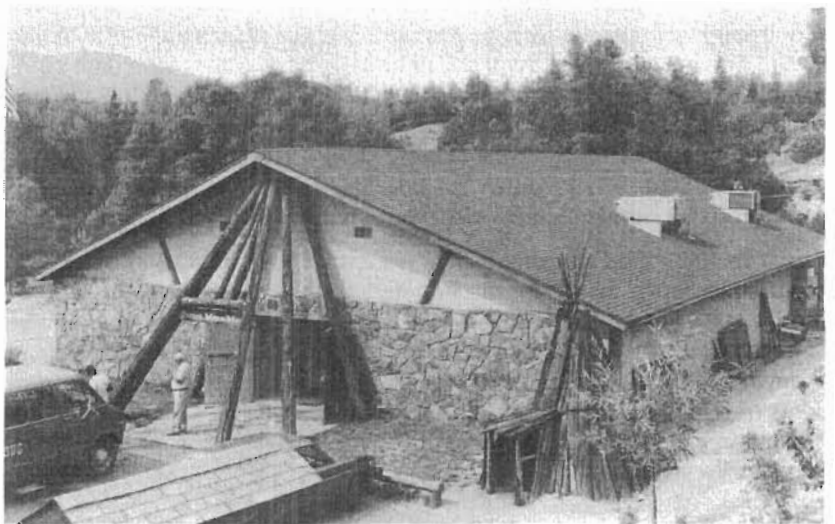
"Another important development since the 1960s was the creation of Native American studies departments at major universities in California. In the fall of 1969, Indian students at the University of California at Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Davis and at Sacramento State University demanded that these institutions begin programs and offer courses in Indian culture and history." (Heizer, 1967:125) Today, much valuable information has come from these programs. They have also assisted Indian students by providing them with needed services, and have promoted a better Indian self-image.

"Indian land issues became international news in November 1969 when a group called Indians of All Tribes occupied Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay and held the site for nearly two years." (Heizer, 1967:716) "Within two months, the Pit River Tribe learned the lesson of Alcatraz." (Balin, 1971) On June 5, 1970, the Pit River Tribe issued a proclamation that stated: "We are the rightful and legal owner of the land. . . . No amount of money can buy the Mother Earth; therefore, the California Indian Land Claims Commission has no meaning. The Earth is our Mother and we cannot sell her." (*Ibid.*) Since then, the Pit Rivers have successfully reoccupied a number of pieces of land.

By 1970, the census showed that there were 91,018 Indians in California. This number did not differentiate between California Indians and Indians who came here from other states. In 1972, 120 years after the Indians signed the 18 lost treaties, 60,000 California Indians received \$633 each as compensation for land covered by the treaties. Some Indians refused the payment, and some failed to cash the check, but others who had waited for generations and had spent much time and money trying to resolve the issue accepted the payment. The land claims case was finally over.

Ten of the original terminated rancherias left Indian ownership by 1974. The same year, California reservation Indians filed and won a class action suit known as the Rincon decision. The suit charged that the Indian Health Service had not provided California Indians with health care comparable to that provided in other states. The U.S. District Court in San Francisco agreed. The State of California began to supplement federal Indian Health money in 1975, the first state to do so. (Heizer, 1978:126; *Sacramento Bee*, Sept. 6-7, 1981) In 1982, California Indians received most of the \$8,700,000 supplemental funds from the Rincon ruling award.

In 1976, the California Native American Heritage Commission was established. Since that time, the commission has assisted Indians in preserving cultural and religious sites important to them. By 1980, the number of Indians in California had grown to more than 201,000, more Indians than in any other state. Probably a little more than half of these are the descendants of aboriginal Californians. Their population is still far below the approximately 310,000 Indians living in California when Europeans first arrived on these shores.



Sierra Mono Museum, Madera County

SITES



Alcatraz Island

San Francisco

Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay was probably seen by Europeans as early as 1769 when Sergeant Jose Francisco Ortega, chief scout from Gaspar de Portola's expedition, first viewed the bay. Three years later, the island was definitely identified by Captain Pedro Fages and Father Juan Crespi, who were exploring the area where Berkeley now stands. The island juts out into San Francisco Bay, and appears as a barren, irregularly stratified sandstone rock. When first described by the American Army and surveyors, it was said to be entirely without natural resources and with soil that was barely perceptible, being rocky and precipitous on all sides. Alcatraz Island lies in a northwest-southeast direction, approximately 22 acres, 1,075 feet long and 850 feet maximum width. It has two peaks which reach 138.4 feet and 134.9 feet above sea level. Although it has no real beach, there are two or three places where boats can land. Alcatraz held the Pacific Coast's first lighthouse, served as a military prison for nearly 75 years, played a key role in the harbor defense plan for San Francisco Bay, and housed the nation's most desperate federal criminals from 1934 to 1963.

On April 12, 1963, the Department of Justice declared Alcatraz Island to be excess property, and the President appointed a commission to determine its future use. On March 24, 1964, the commission held a meeting on Alcatraz; three days later, five Sioux Indians -- Richard McKenzie, Allen Cottier, Martin Martinez, Garfield Spotted Elk, and Walter Means -- filed a claim for Alcatraz. The claim focused on the right of a tribe to claim excess government lands. These same Indians had occupied

Alcatraz for three hours on March 8, 1964. The Indians wanted to use the island for a university, which would encompass a center for Native American Studies, an American Indian Spiritual Center, an Indian Center of Ecology, an Indian Training School, and an American Indian Museum.

In April, the U.S. Attorney expressed the opinion that the claims made by the Indians were without foundation; thus, the General Services Administration (GSA) assumed custody and accountability for the island in July 1964. In September 1965, Richard McKenzie filed a complaint in the U.S. District Court of Northern California asking for an injunction against the sale of Alcatraz until a court adjudicated their right to it. As an alternative, they demanded a money judgment of \$2,500,000. The court dismissed McKenzie's complaint in July 1968.

During the time the complaint was in court, the City of San Francisco advised GSA of its interest in Alcatraz as a park and recreational site, and in October 1969, GSA agreed to give the Department of the Interior until December 1, 1969 to explore the potential use of Alcatraz as a federal recreational site. Bay Area Indians decided to take action.

During the night of November 9-10, four Indians attempted to jump from a chartered vessel onto the island. Their first attempt was unsuccessful, but later that same night, the original four and ten others returned to Alcatraz and successfully landed. The next day, GSA asked them to leave. Richard Oakes, a young Mohawk man and spokesperson for the group, agreed to go to the GSA office to discuss the Indians' plans. On November 20, 1969, the "Indians of All Tribes" returned to Alcatraz, determined to remain. Approximately 90 Indians constituted the original occupation group. The president of the

United Bay Area Council of Indians explained the rationale behind the Indians' actions as an attack on the whole system of broken treaties, poverty, and neglect. Alcatraz became a symbol for Indians because it represented fear and oppression, conditions which governed Indian lives. The occupation of the island was an attempt to awaken a nation asleep to Indian human rights.

During the Indian occupation of the island, Alcatraz was the site for the First Indians of All Tribes National Conference, held before Christmas in 1969. By then, approximately 200 Indians were on the island, with Richard Oakes as their spokesperson. After many months of struggle and unfortunate mishaps, including the death of Oakes's young daughter, who fell over a railing from the third floor of an apartment building, the occupation came to an end. GSA turned Alcatraz over to the Department of the Interior to use as a park, and the U.S. Government deeded several hundred acres of federal land near Davis, California to American Indians and Mexican Americans to establish an educational institution known as Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University.

On June 11, 1971, 20 federal marshals landed on the island to remove the occupiers. They found only six men, four women, and five children remaining from the occupation. Today, the "Red Eagle" over the main entrance to the prison is evidence of the Indians' one and a half years on Alcatraz.

Ahwahnee

Mariposa County

Ahwahnee, located on 10 acres of unsectioned land in Yosemite Valley, is one-half mile west of Yosemite Village. The westbound section of the valley loop off Highway 140 borders it on the north. The site is fairly flat, carpeted with grass and pine needles, and parkland woods border it to the south and east. Vegetation in the area consists of mixed conifers, an abundance of oak trees, and manzanita. A number of coarse granite outcroppings in the area contain cupules or grinding holes, which are circular depressions formed by grinding or pecking with a stone pestle over a long period of time. Also on the site are the razed remnants of 15 cabins, built by the National Park Service in 1930 to house Yosemite Indians who had never vacated the valley.

Indians first entered the Yosemite region more than 4,000 years ago. They were the ancestors of the present-day Mewuk Indians, who established themselves in permanent villages along the Merced River as far east as the Yosemite Valley. They called the valley "Ahwahnee," which means "place of the gaping mouth." These Indians were a small part of

the Interior California Mewuks, which included, in ancient times, about 9,000 people who were closely related in language and culture. They lived in the western foothills and lower slopes of the Sierra Nevada, and their lives revolved around hunting, gathering, and fishing. They traveled to the high country each spring and summer to follow deer herds and to trade with Mono Lake Paiutes from the east side of the Sierra, returning in the fall to their homes in the lower elevations.

"A fatal black sickness" forced the Indians to leave their villages in about 1800. Survivors of the sickness affiliated themselves with neighboring tribes, leaving Yosemite Valley uninhabited for many years. As a child, Chief Tenaya heard stories about the deep, grassy valley that had once been his people's home, and he decided to return there with his band. By 1833, Tenaya was back in the valley living peacefully with his people. In 1850, non-Indian gold seekers began to come into Yosemite, followed by cattle ranchers who moved into the area around Mariposa. The intruders upset the balance of the Indians' subsistence pattern. Tenaya's band came to be known as "Yosemites," a corruption of "Uzumati," which means grizzly bear, probably called such after the bear clan of Tenaya's Ahwahneechees.

In January 1851, the Mariposa Battalion organized in an attempt to subdue Tenaya's people and bring them to reservations in the Fresno area. After a surprise attack and the capture of an Indian rancheria on the South Fork of the Merced River, Chief Tenaya received a messenger who carried a demand that he sign a treaty, quitclaim the Yosemite lands, and leave for the reservation on the Fresno River. Tenaya refused and was told that his entire tribe would be killed. He finally agreed to bring his people into custody, but when the battalion found only 72 Yosemites, most of whom were women and children, they became suspicious and traveled into the valley, a place the army had not yet seen. Once the battalion arrived in the valley, they were awestruck and astonished by its overpowering beauty.

Tenaya was a prisoner in his own land more than once, but he and his followers were never totally subdued, and they never signed a treaty. After an appeal, Tenaya returned to Yosemite and died there, a free man. Tenaya's descendants received allotments for the acreage of the village site, and by 1930, they were living in 15 cabins provided for them by the National Park Service. When the park service decided to expand the Sunnyside Campground, the villagers had to move to other quarters. Today, the Ahwahneechees maintain their traditional ceremonies, dances, and food collecting. Women continue to collect and grind acorns, and to make

willow and sedge baskets. Mrs. Julia Parker, a Pomo Indian who married a Yosemite Indian, says that the village is the people's link to the old life.

Hilltop Tavern

Alameda County

During and after World War II, the Bureau of Indian Affairs relocated American Indians from reservations to urban centers with the goal of assimilating them into the general population. Although urban areas provided more job possibilities, the move from isolated rural environments to large cities created other problems. The major difficulties were the unfamiliar surroundings, the different culture and lifestyle, and lack of friends. Not unlike immigrants from foreign lands, these displaced people sought out others with similar cultural and social traditions. They wanted information about their old homeland, and a suitable place to meet. Indians who were unable to find these things often ended up returning to the reservation.

Lacking the social services now available to newcomers, Indians in Oakland established a meeting place at the Hilltop Tavern, 3411 MacArthur Boulevard. Privately owned and operated since the 1930s, it consists of three separate storefronts, two of which are recent additions. The tavern has a bar, a pool table area, a lounge, and a dance area. It displays posters and artwork by Indian artists. Jerry Davis, who once owned the tavern, said that the Hilltop was the Indian Center of Oakland before anyone thought of building one.

In the 1960s, the first American Indian Movement (AIM) meetings in the Bay Area took place here, and the Alcatraz takeover in 1969 was organized in the tavern.

Today more than 200,000 Indians live in California, over half of them from other states. Without social centers such as the Hilltop, fewer would have been willing to stay.

D-Q University

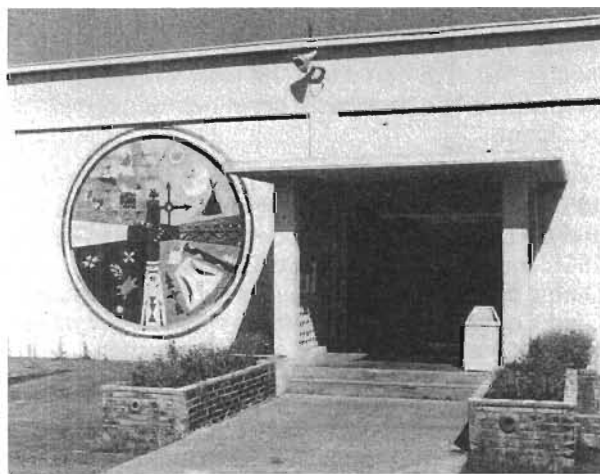
Yolo County

Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University is a fully accredited two-year institution of higher education, located on 643 acres of land on Road 31 west of Davis, California. "Deganawidah was the name of the American Indian chief who formed the Iroquois Federation, and Quetzalcoatl, the name of an Aztec leader, later deified by his people." (*Sacramento Union*, March 28, 1971, p. 1) Constructed in the 1940s and previously used as a United States Strategic Air Command Communication Center, its

five buildings now serve as administrative, research, classroom, and dormitory facilities. The southeast portion of the school's acreage functions as a religious and ceremonial area where traditional Indian ceremonies may be carried out. At one time, the ceremonial grounds were home for the Plains Sun Dance. Presently, there are plans underway to construct a California-style traditional round house on the grounds.

The General Services Administration deeded the land on which D-Q now sits as a concession to Indian people after they left Alcatraz Island. However, conditions established by the federal government regarding specific use of the land have caused it to remain in an indefinite ownership state. The site was occupied in 1972 by Indians of several tribes, pursuant to the policy of the United States Government to grant surplus federal lands to Indians.

The purpose of D-Q University is to provide alternative ideas and methods of education to Native American people. Among its goals are the preservation and re-institutionalization of traditional Native American values, the perpetuation and exercise of Native American religion and beliefs, the establishment of a Native American Research Institute, the development of field-based educational delivery systems to Native Americans who cannot attend the school itself, and the maintenance of social and personal support systems for D-Q students and staff. D-Q also served as the location for organizing "The Longest Walk" in 1978, which terminated in Washington, D.C., the 500-mile Indian Marathon in 1978-79, and other demonstrations of Indian self-awareness. In the summer of 1986, it was also the site of a youth and elders gathering. In spite of continued attempts by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to close the school and repossess the land, D-Q staff and students express a strong desire to keep the school open. "D-Q



University is a symbol of 20th century Indian self-determination and remains an example to Indians around the country as to what we can do if we believe in ourselves." (Dave Risling, Chairman, D-Q University, August 1980) At the present time, [1982] D-Q is negotiating with the U.S. Government in an effort to reach a land settlement acceptable to both the school and the government.



Cherokee

Butte County

Cherokee is a historic California gold mining town, constructed in response to the gold discoveries of 1853. It was named after a group of Cherokee Indians who prospected in the area. The town is located 10 miles north of Oroville and two miles west of the Feather River in Butte County. Cherokee was one of the most common names given to mining towns during the California Gold Rush era. This town received its name from a band of Cherokee Indians who came to the state in 1853 with S. O. Potter, a Maine schoolmaster, who had been teaching in Indian territory. Because Cherokee's gold deposits were so rich, news of them spread throughout the territory, and a great many Whites began to come into the town to reap the harvest that had previously benefitted its original occupants.

Cherokee began to prosper as a gold mining town in 1853 when water was brought in from Bloody Run and Grizzly Canyon via Grizzly Ditch. From 1853 to 1861, some companies made 50 dollars a day. During the boom period, the Spring Valley Hydraulic Gold Company owned the town's mining operations which were then described as a magnificent consolidation of many claims, the most successful hydraulic mining operation in Butte County, and among the finest in the world. A post office was established in 1854, followed by the construction of

a Welsh Congregational Church in 1857. By 1861, *The Mining Press*, Cherokee's local newspaper, called the town almost dead; however, as late as 1867, it was still termed a sizeable town. Today, the site of Cherokee is marked by remnants of extensive dredge, placer, and pick-and-shovel mining. The Cherokee Indians who originally mined the area moved on after the gold deposits were exhausted; today, it is difficult to trace the movement of its first Indian inhabitants.

Captain Jack's Stronghold (Lava Beds National Monument)

Modoc County

Captain Jack's Stronghold, part of Lava Beds National Monument, is located at the Perez turnoff, off Highway 139 between Tule Lake and Canby, California. The lava beds made an outstanding stronghold for the Modocs because of the rough terrain, rocks that could be used in fortification, and irregular pathways to evade pursuers. The area originally served as a hunting and gathering area. It is now a national monument managed by the National Park Service.

In 1869, Ulysses S. Grant became president of the United States. During his term of office, there existed conflicting philosophies and policies for dealing with Indian affairs. The policies came from three distinct sources: first, Interior Department officials believed that Indian Agents were more important than Indians; second, the War Department



believed it was cheaper to feed Indians than to shoot them; and third, private citizens believed that if Indians adopted Christianity, they would change their habits, folkways, and economic system, and then become peaceable and self-reliant. Grant often referred to the third policy as his "Quaker Policy." Not knowing which of these policies to use, Grant implemented all three. The result was disastrous. Under these conflicting philosophies, the Modoc Indians were forced to move onto the Klamath Indian Reservation on Upper Klamath Lake in Oregon in 1869.

The Klamath Indians believed that they had allowed the Modocs to relocate onto their land. Moreover, they felt that all resources on the land remained theirs by ancestral right. The retention of land rights was a continuing source of agitation between Klamaths and Modocs. In addition, social conditions at Klamath were distressing. Against official orders, army officers gambled with Indians, often winning as many as 20 or 30 horses from Indian men. Army officers at Klamath also quite openly took Indian women, even from their husbands. Once their wives had been prostituted this way, husbands often refused to take them back. Meanwhile, the agents encouraged Indians to become herdsmen and farmers and to live in log cabins instead of in their traditional wickiups.

Captain Jack watched life at Klamath and became convinced that he should live the way his ancestors had. Others in his band agreed with him and so they returned to their land on Lost River. All they wanted was the right to their traditional homeland. Late in 1869, messengers went to Lost River to ask Jack to come back to Klamath to discuss the possibility of his returning permanently to the reservation. He refused to leave Lost River and told the messengers that people would have to come to him if they wanted to talk.

In the spring of 1871, Jack employed a Klamath Indian shaman to care for a sick Modoc child. He paid the fees in advance and a contract was entered into. Among the Modoc, this type of contract was understood as a guarantee to heal. In the event of failure, the doctor's life was to be forfeited. The sickness of the child was more serious than originally thought, and she died. In accordance with custom, Captain Jack killed the Klamath shaman for inefficiency. Friends of the shaman informed the local sheriff of the murder, and asked for Jack's arrest. Under the provisions of the "Great Treaty" of 1864, Indians were bound never to murder again; therefore, the sheriff issued a warrant for Jack's arrest. Jack, meanwhile, traveled to Yreka to see attorney Elisha Steele, who wrote a letter for him to the Indian Agent advising against his arrest on

spiritual and cultural grounds. The agent accepted Steele's advice and dropped the charges against Jack. Settlers in the area nevertheless used the murder charge to discredit Jack.

In November 1872, soldiers and settlers attacked Captain Jack's camp on Lost River. After the battle, about 50 Modocs fled to the strategic position of the lava beds. Jack lived in the stronghold and successfully defended it for about one year. The first battle for the stronghold took place in January 1873, and the second in April 1873. During the repeated attacks by soldiers and settlers, Captain Jack was able to use the lava beds to his advantage, and only a few people were ever allowed to enter the stronghold to negotiate with him. After several unsuccessful attempts at resolving the whole problem, negotiators sent word back to Washington that the Modocs must be defeated militarily. Captain Jack surrendered on June 1, 1873, and was executed along with five other Modoc men on October 3, 1873. Those remaining in Jack's band were removed to Indian territory in Oklahoma. In 1909, most surviving Modocs returned to the Klamath Reservation. It is important to note that Jack never signed a treaty, and that he defended the stronghold with only a few Indians while the number of men fighting against him at times exceeded 300.

Place Where They Burnt the Digger

Amador County

Place Where They Burnt the Digger is a Miwok Indian ceremonial area located on Old Stockton Road east of Highway 88 near Lone, California. The site consists of approximately four acres of oak, manzanita, and pines, on top of a small hill above the road. Prior to 1920, a round house, about 40 feet in diameter, was constructed here. Four large poles and eight smaller poles in two circular patterns



Burning of the Name "Digger" in effigy, Amador County

supported a roof made of dirt mixed with clay and wild grasses; 100 poles extended from the center of the house, forming a dome-like structure. In 1942, on the death of Dance Captain Charlie Maximo, the round house was destroyed.

In April 1922, the Miwok Indians of the Jackson Valley held a "Big Time," which is a gathering of all Indian people in the area for social or ceremonial reasons. This particular Big Time attracted many Indians from the surrounding region, especially from the lone, Tuolumne, and Jackson areas. On April 20, a dummy, made of old clothes and stuffed with straw, was burned as an effigy for the name "Digger." Prior to the burning of the Digger, the Miwok Indians, also called Mewuk and Mewok, had been named Digger Indians by the federal government. The following statement, issued to the Sacramento Agency by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, appeared in the *California Indian Herald*:

Indians Score Victory After Government Eliminates Name Digger From Official Use

Hereafter the term "Digger" as representing the name of a tribe of Indians in the Sacramento jurisdiction, and appearing in the records of this Bureau, will be discontinued, objections having come from others that this term is one of contempt and regarded by the Indians as humiliating and opprobrious. It will, therefore, be replaced by the name 'Mewuk' which, upon accepted ethnological authority, is the true tribal designation of these Indians.

The change from "Digger" Indians to Mewuk, Mewok, or Miwok was the result of an appeal made by the Indian Board of Co-operation and nine of its delegates. Today, the Place Where They Burnt the Digger is important to the Miwok in two respects: first, it represents official recognition of the Miwok Indians and their cultural tradition; and second, since the time of the burning, the Indians of the area refer to themselves as Miwoks, and do not call themselves by their village names. (*California Indian Herald*, 1922:14)

North Fork School

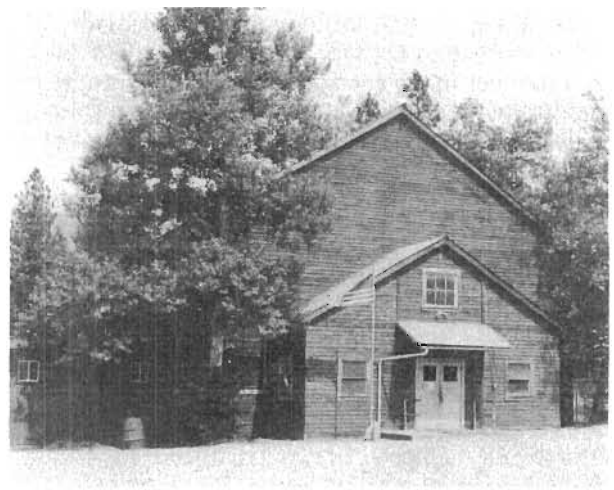
Madera County

North Fork School is located just past the junction of Avenue 222 and Royce in the town of North Fork, California. Originally constructed in the 1920s by the Indians and townspeople of the area, it served as a public school and later as a community center. The large, rambling schoolhouse contains several small classrooms and one large room used as a meeting hall. The school itself no longer operates out of the old building since the town built a modern structure on the hill above the old site.

North Fork is significant to Indian people because in 1967 it was the site for the conference on California Indian Education. The Rosenberg Foundation provided partial funding for the Indian-initiated conference held on October 20, 21, and 22, 1967. Approximately 180 Indians from all over the state attended the conference, which was the culmination of months of planning by Mono Indian leaders. The object was to find ways to ensure the future of Indian education in California. The California Indian Education Association was a direct result of the conference.

A report written in October 1967 by Jack Forbes stated that the North Fork Conference represented a significant step in California Indian people's struggle for psychological liberation. The meetings demonstrated that California Indian people were attempting to gain some measure of control over their own destiny and the future of their children.

Currently, there is some conflict over who owns the land on which the old school sits. One local Mono Indian leader says that the town took the land away from the Mono people, and that the tribe wants it returned. However, the Indians need a researcher to find the facts, and there is a lack of funds to hire one. North Fork townspeople, however, built the present structure, used it as a public school in the past, and now use it as a community center. Its present owner is the Chamber of Commerce of North Fork. North Fork School has an uncertain and potentially volatile future, but its past reaches into the far corners of California, with all of the state's Indians reaping benefits from that first cold day in October 1967.





Malki Museum

Riverside County

The Malki Museum is located on the Morongo Indian Reservation on Fields Road near the town of Banning, California. It is constructed of adobe bricks, and is approximately 30' x 50' x 12' in size. Display cases house cultural objects made by Indians from the surrounding area, while the museum grounds include several brush arbors and a botanical garden. Both the museum and its grounds are well attended.

The Malki Museum was constructed in 1965 by the Cahuilla Indians and serves to preserve and enhance Cahuilla Indian lifeways. Its cultural exhibits relate the story of the Cahuillas from the pre-contact period to the present. Malki was also the first home for a publishing company, the Ballena Press, which has expanded its services to include ethnographic and ethnohistoric information and analysis of southwestern tribes.

The Malki Museum was the first Indian controlled and operated museum in California. As such, it is an important example to other Indian groups who are interested in preserving their material culture through a museum. Although the idea of an Indian Museum operated by Indian people seems like an obvious and natural development, it should be remembered that it takes dedicated people to actually accomplish such a task. Malki is a living example of an Indian people's ability to adapt to the fast-changing circumstances that surround their cultural heritage. It will serve future generations by providing them with a glimpse into the rich and beautiful history of the Cahuilla people.

Lake County Courthouse

Lake County

The Lake County Courthouse, located at 255 North Main Street in Lakeport, California, is a two-story, 66-by-44-foot, vine-covered brick structure. The bricks were kilned at Lakeport and have been

covered with concrete. The building also has a cast iron balcony centered above the entrance on the second floor that was used by the court bailiff when court was in session. Designed by A. P. Petit in 1871, this building served as the seat of county government from 1871 until 1968 when it was replaced by the new courthouse. The Lake County Courthouse is more than 100 years old and was listed in the National Register of Historic Buildings in 1970. At that time, it was the first courthouse in the state of California listed in the National Register. It now houses the Lake County Pioneer and Indian Museum.

The Lake County Courthouse was the scene of many trials when it served as the seat of county government. For Indian people, it served as the birthplace of voting rights for all California Indians. In 1915, Ethan Anderson, a Pomo Indian from off the reservation, attempted to register to vote with the Lake County Clerk. When he was refused, Lake County Indians held meetings and raised money to pay for a lawsuit. After two years of fund raising, Anderson went to court to protest the denial of his voting rights. In 1917, he won his right to vote and thereby won citizenship rights for all California Indians who did not reside on large reservations. (Forbes, 1969:93) In 1924, 55 years after passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, the United States Congress extended citizenship to all Indians.

The courthouse was also the site of other important cases, including decisions on water and water rights that set precedents still in effect today. One such decision on water rights accorded Superior Court Judge Benjamin C. Jones national recognition. Helen Rocca Goss published an account of the White Cup Murders case which was tried in the courthouse, and here also, famed actress Lily Langtry received her divorce decree.





Bloody Island

Lake County

Bloody Island is one-quarter mile west of Highway 20 and about one and one-half miles south of the town of Upper Lake, north of Clear Lake, California. State registered landmark #407 marks the site along with another marker which designates the 400-by-800-foot area as the site of an Indian massacre. It is not apparent as an island until viewed from the south side, because the surrounding lands have been reclaimed from the lake. Bloody Island was once a Pomo Indian village site but now serves as open space.

Bloody Island derives its name from the Clear Lake Massacre of 1850 in which Captain Nathaniel Lyon, accompanied by soldiers and local White volunteers, invaded the island and killed 60 of the 400 Indians who had taken refuge there. Another 75 Indians were killed on the Russian River nearby. The soldiers killed a total of 135 Indians, while two White men were wounded. The Indians fled to the island in an attempt to save themselves after five Indians had killed two White men.

Charles Stone and Andrew Kelsey had been running cattle and using local Indians as free ranch labor. The "paid" the Indians four cups of wheat each day which was not adequate to feed a large family. As a result, many Indians were starving. Stone, who was notorious for his mistreatment of Indians, killed a young Indian man who had been sent by his starving aunt to bring her family more wheat. (Margolin, 1981:165) Soon after this murder, two Indians, Shuk and Xasis, decided to borrow Stone and Kelsey's horses for a hunting trip. Their purpose was to bring back meat for the hungry village. They could not leave their encampment during the day for fear of being seen and punished by the cattlemen. The hunting trip failed, and the horses that were borrowed by the Indians were returned to the ranchers, but both Indians feared that Stone and Kelsey would kill them if they found out that the Indians had taken the horses. They decided to go to Stone and Kelsey's place and kill them first. In December 1849,

Shuk, Xasis, and three other Indians went to Stone and Kelsey's place, killed them, and got food for their starving village. Many of the Indians then fled to the island in the middle of the lake where they felt reasonably safe.

Captain Lyon arrived at the lake in the spring of 1850 with a detachment of soldiers. Since he could not reach the Indians' hiding place, he secured two whale boats and two small brass field cannons from the U.S. Army arsenal at Benicia. While waiting for the boats and field artillery, a party of local volunteers joined the expedition. Soldiers took the cannons aboard the whale boats, while the remaining body of mounted soldiers and volunteers proceeded to the west side of the lake. The two groups rendezvoused at Robinson Point, a little south of the island. The artillery was taken to the head of the lake in order to be as close as possible to the Indians. In the morning, soldiers fired shots from the front to attract the Indians' attention while the remaining force lined up on the opposite side of the island. The soldiers then fired the cannon, which sent the Indians across the island where they met the rest of the detachment. Many Indian men, women, and children were killed. Some jumped into the water to flee and some tried to hide on the island, but the soldiers succeeded in overcoming them.

Later in the year, Colonel Reddick McKee traveled to Lake County to negotiate treaties and establish the boundaries of the area's Indian country. This was an important step, because at the time of the Bloody Island Massacre, there was no recognition of tribal rights in California, and most tribes were therefore unrepresented by the state's political and judicial systems. Bloody Island represents the lack of due process under the law, and is an example of how the military was apt to administer justice when dealing with Indians.

Cupa

San Diego County

Cupa, also called Warner Springs Ranch or Agua Caliente Village, is located north of Interstate 8 and east of Lake Henshaw on State Highway 79 near Warner Springs, California. The historic 200-acre Cupeno Indian village site is now abandoned, but there remains evidence of its historical importance. A number of recently abandoned residences above the old village do not disturb the site itself. Settling ponds and swimming pools constructed on Agua Caliente Creek at the old resort are now in a state of disrepair. The beautiful valley of Agua Caliente in which the village was situated lies at an altitude of

3,000 feet, and is home for many kinds of wildlife, native shrubs, grass, and evergreen oak trees.

The Cupeno Indians were already living at Cupa before the Spanish arrived in California in the 1700s. They continued to reside at Agua Caliente after the American occupation of California in 1847-48. Once the Americans arrived, however, Antonio Garra, a Cupeno from Warners Ranch, attempted to organize a coalition of various Southern California Indian tribes to drive out all of the Whites. The attempt failed, Garra was executed, and Cupa, the village at Warner Springs, was burned.

Although Cupa was on Indian land, Juan Jose Warner, a naturalized Mexican citizen, received the land in a grant from the Mexican Government on November 28, 1844. Warner, like most other large landholders in California at the time, depended chiefly on Indian labor. The village of Cupa provided most of Warner's workforce. Some members of the tribe, during the time they worked for Warner, moved to the vicinity of the ranch house, and built their own adobe huts. According to Julio Ortega, one of the oldest members of the Cupeno tribe, Warner set aside about 16 miles of land surrounding the hot springs as the private domain of the Indians. Warner encouraged the Cupenos to construct a stone fence around their village, and to keep their livestock separated from that of the ranch. Ortega felt that, had the village created its own boundaries, the Cupenos would still live there today. (Morrison, 1962:21) In observing the Cupenos' living conditions in 1846, W. H. Emory, brevet major with the Corps of Engineers, described the Indians as being held in a state of serfdom by Warner, and as being ill-treated. (*Out West*, May 1902:471)

After European contact and prior to the time of their eviction, the Cupenos sold milk, fodder, and some craftwares to Whites. The women made lace and took in laundry which they washed in the hot springs. The men carved wood and manufactured saddle mats for horses. They also raised cattle and cultivated 200 acres of land.

In 1849, Warner was arrested for consorting with the Mexican government and was taken to Los Angeles. In 1880, after numerous suits and countersuits, all titles to the main portion of Warner's Ranch became the property of John G. Downey. In the 1890s, the owners of Cupa began proceedings to evict the Indians. Legal proceedings continued until 1903, when the decision of *Barker v. Harvey* was handed down, causing final eviction of the Indians from Cupa. The United States Government offered to buy new land for the Cupenos, but the Indians refused. In 1903, Cecilio Blacktooth, Cupa Chief at Agua Caliente, said: "If you give us the best place in the world, it is not as good as this. This is our home. We

cannot live anywhere else; we were born here, and our fathers are buried here." (*Out West*, May 1902:475)

On September 4, 1903, the Cupa Indians were forced to move to Pala on the San Luis Rey River, 75 miles away. Indians from the present-day reservations of Los Coyotes, San Ygnacio, Santa Isabel, and Mesa Grande are descendants of the Warner Springs Cupenos. Many Cupenos believe that their land at Cupa will be returned to them, and are actively seeking legal relief to that end. The Cupa site serves as a rallying point for the land movement of current-day Indian people, and the spirit of Cupa Village lives in Indian people's contemporary efforts to regain cultural and religious areas.

Quechla

San Diego County

Quechla, known also as the San Luis Rey River, begins in the Cleveland National Forest where several streams make up its headwaters. Following the approximate route of present-day State Highway 76, it flows west by northwest and terminates near Oceanside, California. Its drainage area is approximately 80 miles long. The only dam on the river was constructed in 1922 and formed Lake Henshaw just below Warner Springs. Quechla provides water to five southern Indian bands that live on or near its banks: the Rincon, the La Jolla, the Pauma, the Pala, and the San Pasqual.

In the 1870s, certain lands in northern San Diego County's Quechla Basin were set aside as Indian reservations by executive order. In 1891, with the passage of the Mission Indian Relief Act, the Rincon, La Jolla, Pauma, Pala, San Pasqual, and Yuma reservations were made permanent. Meanwhile, in 1889, residents of the Escondido Valley formed the Escondido Irrigation District with the intent of obtaining water from the Quechla watershed, approximately 15 miles north of Escondido. In order to build the canal that would transport the water, the district had to obtain rights of way across both private and government land, including three of the reservations: La Jolla, Rincon, and San Pasqual. In 1894 and 1908, the Secretary of the Interior approved various documents that purported to grant the rights of way. The validity and interpretation of these documents are now in dispute.

In 1905, the Escondido District failed, and the Escondido Mutual Water Company purchased all of its assets, including water rights. The Secretary of the Interior, acting on behalf of the Rincon Indians, entered into a new water rights contract with Mutual. The validity of this contract is also in dispute.

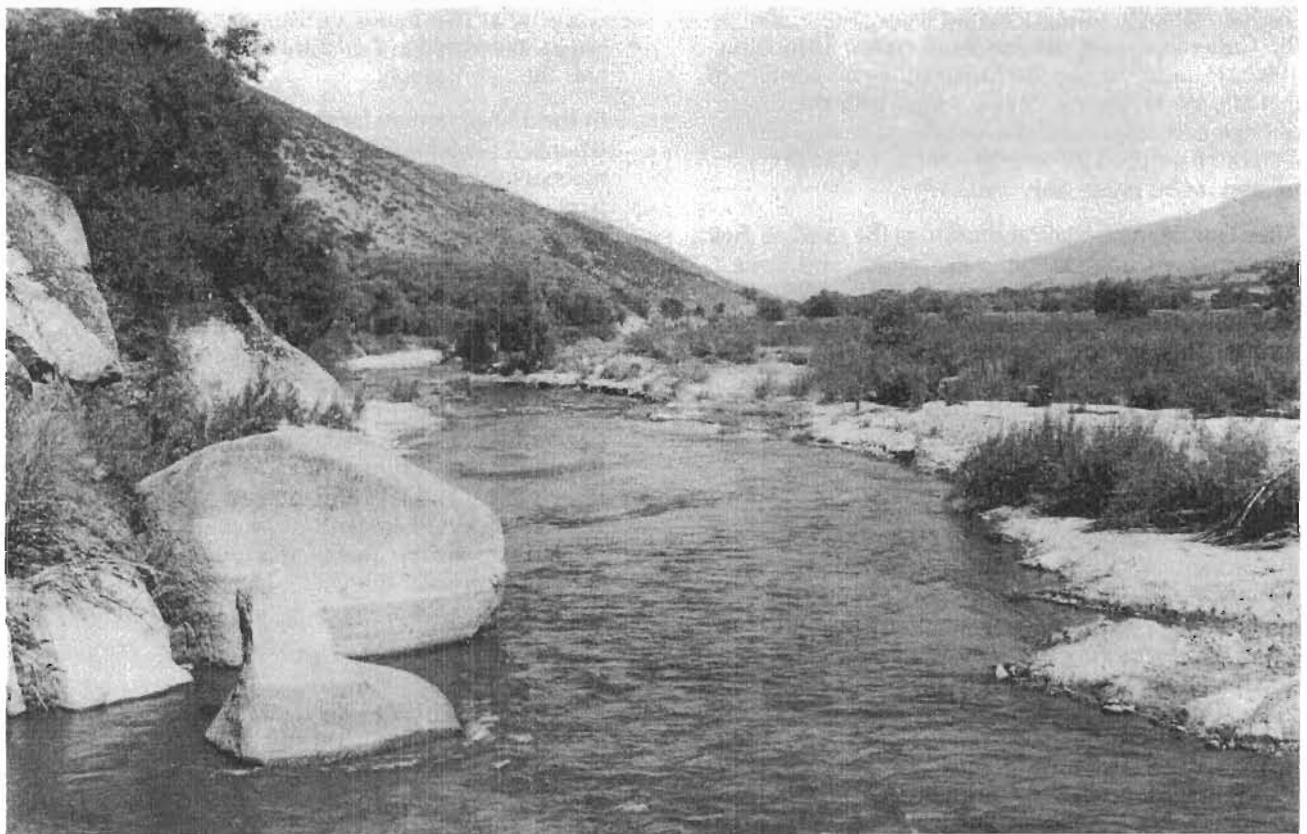
In June 1922, William G. Henshaw entered into a contract with the United States on behalf of the Rincon and Pala Indians. Henshaw wanted to build a storage dam and reservoir at Warner's Ranch on the Upper Quechla, with the intent of diverting river water for irrigation. This contract is in dispute as well. In protest of the dam's construction, local Indians went to court to contest the legality of the contract. The United States Government ruled in favor of Henshaw, and a dam to hold back approximately 200,000 acre feet of water was built.

In November 1922, the San Diego County Water Company succeeded Henshaw as owner of the dam, and contracted with Mutual to convey Henshaw water through the Escondido Canal. In addition to conveying water, Mutual also agreed to purchase 5,000 acre feet of Henshaw-stored water per year. In 1924, the water company contracted with Vista Irrigation Company to supply approximately 12,000 acre feet of Henshaw-stored water to the community of Vista. In 1924, the Federal Power Commission approved a 50-year license for Project No. 176 with Mutual, which included the Escondido Canal, the Rincon and Bear Valley power plants, and Lake Wohlford as project works. By 1946, Vista had purchased all of the stock of the water company and

had succeeded to the ownership of Henshaw Dam and 43,000 acres of land in the Warner's Basin.

In 1971, the California Division of Dam Safety declared the Henshaw facility prone to failure in the event of seismic activity. Because of the safety restrictions placed on it, forced releases of Henshaw water to the ocean caused a loss of more than \$3 million in 1978 and 1979. Today, the dam functions at less than 40% capacity because it lies adjacent to the Elsinore Fault System; as a result, it cannot provide flood protection to the Indians living at Rincon, La Jolla, and Pala reservations.

In 1950, 46 Indian bands, including the Rincon, La Jolla, Pauma, Pala, and San Pasqual, initiated proceedings in the Indian Claims Commission which would pay damages to the Indians from the government for failure to protect their land and water rights. In addition to damages, the Indians asked for access to Quechla's water so they could develop their lands agriculturally. Senator Alan Cranston introduced Senate Bill 1507 which provided for settlement of Indian claims against the U.S. Government and the City of Escondido. Hearings were held on July 13, 1979 before the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. The bill never came out of committee, but the Indians have stated that they will



continue to try to preserve the Quechla because it is an important historic resource to them.

Tejon Indian Reservation

Kern County

In the early 1800s, Indians in the interior of California began to feel the effects of trappers and explorers. By mid-century, coastal Indians who moved inland following the breakup of the missions also suffered under the influx of miners and settlers. When the federal government sent Indian agents to write treaties with California Indians, Agent George W. Barbour negotiated the treaties with both interior and coastal Indians in the southern San Joaquin Valley. In return for the promise of goods, annuities, and land, the Indians vacated much of their homeland.

In February of 1852, President Millard Fillmore submitted 18 California Indian treaties to the United States Congress for ratification, but the California delegation objected, complaining that the treaties provided too much good land for the Indians. Congress failed to ratify the treaties but did make some provisions for California Indians.

Edward F. Beale was appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California in April 1852. Upon arrival in September, Beale toured the state to determine the status of California Indians. He reported in February 1853 that "our laws and policy with respect to Indians have been neglected or violated. . . . [The Indians] are driven from their homes and deprived of their hunting-grounds and fishing-waters at the discretion of the whites. . . ." Beale requested \$500,000 for military reservations where both soldiers and Indians would reside.

Beale hired H. B. Edwards to start farming operations at Tejon and the San Joaquin River. On March 2, 1853, Congress appropriated \$250,000 for five reservations, not to exceed 25,000 acres each, to be located on public lands, with good land, wood, and water. In September, Beale expanded the Tejon Farm into the first California reservation.

To gain support for his efforts, Beale named the reservation after Senator William Sebastian, Chairman of the Indian Affairs Committee. The Sebastian Indian Reservation, more commonly known as Tejon Indian Reservation, was located in the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley, "between Tejon Vaquero Headquarters and Canada de las Uvas. . . ." (Latta, 1977:736)

Tejon was located on a Mexican land grant rather than on public land, but Beale argued that no public lands were available and that the unoccupied grant

could be purchased if necessary. Beale's primary reason for choosing Tejon was the presence of mission-trained Indians with agricultural skills, more likely to succeed on a reservation.

Despite substantial opposition, Beale continued to gather Indians and move them to Tejon. In early 1854, he reported 2,500 Indians at Tejon and 2,650 acres under cultivation. Beale's arguments for a reservation of 75,000 acres failed, and in July 1854, he was replaced by Thomas J. Henley.

When Henley took charge, he noted only 800 Indians, with fewer than 350 present at one time, and only 1,500 acres under cultivation, indicating that numbers of Indians and amount of acreage under cultivation had been inflated. Most of the crops failed that year because of drought. Henley started the Tule River Farm to supplement the reservation's food, but the Indians still had to gather native foods and the government had to bring in more supplies in order to feed the reservation population. Throughout the reservation's existence, drought, insects, and crop disease undermined the attempts at farming.

In November of 1856, the reservation was reduced to 25,000 acres. That year, 700 Indians were reported residing on the reservation and 700 acres were under cultivation. By 1859, Henley had been replaced.

In addition to crop failure, the reservation faced loss of the land when the land grant claim was upheld in court. Settlers also encroached on the unsurveyed and unfenced land, allowing cattle and sheep to eat reservation crops. During the 1863 drought year, all the crops were lost except for 30 tons of hay.

Meanwhile, former agent Edward F. Beale had purchased five contiguous ranchos in the Tejon area, including the reservation land, and was raising 100,000 sheep. In 1863, he offered to lease 12,000 acres to the government for a dollar an acre, but withdrew the offer when he found that the government planned to move Owens River Indians there. He noted that he had made the offer only because Indians already on the reservation were his friends.

Jose Pacheco, a Tejon leader, wrote to General Wright on April 16, 1864, "I should not have troubled you with this letter, Dear General, did I not think the agents here had wronged us. You and our great father at Washington do not know how bad we fare, or you would give us food or let us go back to our lands where we can get plenty of fish and game. I do not think we get the provisions intended for us by our Great Father; the agents keep it from us, and sell it to make themselves rich, while we and

our children are very poor and hungry and naked.” (*Sacramento Union*, April 28, 1964)

The reservation was ordered closed in June 1864, and on July 11, Austin Wiley wrote, “I have the honor to inform you that all the Indians on the Tejon Farm and in the vicinity of Fort Tejon, some two hundred in number, have been removed from there to the Tule River farm.” Wiley noted that there was no food for the Indians at Tejon.

Shortly thereafter, D. N. Cooley, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, summarized the reasons for the reservation’s failure: “The lack of legal title to the land severely restrained investment in construction and development, leaving the reserve and the Indians on it in a state of constant uncertainty. The ideal of converting Indians from food gathering to settled agriculture was never realized.”

(Note: Unless otherwise specified, all above quotes are from government reports as cited in California Department of Parks and Recreation reference document No. 169, “Tejon Indian Reservation.”)

Santa Lucia Peak

Monterey County

Santa Lucia Peak, also called Junipero Serra Peak, is located in the Santa Lucia Mountains at an elevation of 5,862 feet. The mountain lies south of Arroyo Seco Road, west of U.S. Highway 101, and 16 miles west of King City, California. At the summit of Santa Lucia Peak, there is a 5-acre, approximately 7,500-year-old sacred Indian site. A fire lookout station has been built and is maintained by the United States Forest Service, including several sheds, cement remnants of an old observatory, and unpaved roads. Dense vegetation covers the peak area with manzanita and mixed conifers, as well as rare and endangered plants such as *Cycladenia humilis* (a variety of venusta), *Galium californicum* (a sub-species of *lucense* or California bedstraw), *Galium clementis* (Santa Lucia bedstraw), *Lupinus cervinus* (deer lupine), and *Raillardella (muirii)*. There are also



numerous granite outcroppings at the site, at least four of which contain cupules, which are small, circular depressions formed by grinding with a stone pestle or by pecking. The cleared western side of the peak contains 30 cupules, and there is evidence of more cupules existing on rocks still covered with vegetation.

In the past, Santa Lucia Mountain was the dividing line for three groups of Indian people: the Salinan and the Esselen, both of the Hokan language family, and the Costanoan of the Penutian language family. The historical significance of the mountain is evident in the names used by the Salinan Indians in referring to it. The Salinans call it *pimkoia'm*, *ti'at aula* after a plant that grows there, and *Santaluisa*. The mountain appears in the creation stories of the Salinan people as the place where the world was created, and it is said to be a sacred place that contains much supernatural power. In the past, it was an important center of religious and ceremonial activity for the Salinan Indians. The fact that the cupules are located on the western side of the summit nearest the setting sun is also significant for the Salinan people and other tribes said that the souls of the dead journey to the west. The various degrees of erosion of the cupules on Santa Lucia Peak indicate that Indian people used them over a long period of time. The rock paintings or pictographs that are also found on the mountain indicate religious activity.

The Santa Lucia Mountains contain one of the most dense concentrations of pictograph sites in California, with at least 18 sites east of Point Sur. John Garcia, a 75-year-old Salinan who was born and lived on the Jolon Reservation in Monterey County, remembered hiking to the top of Santa Lucia Peak with his family and 75 to 100 other Indians. He recalled that people put holy water in some of the cupules and planted flowers in others. The people must have prayed up on the peak, because he saw them put their arms up over their heads and look up at the sky and then toward the ocean. Garcia thought that these groups of Indians climbed the mountain twice a year, once in midsummer and again in late fall.

Santa Lucia Mountain also served as an important navigation point for early Spanish and Portuguese ships exploring the California coast. In 1602, the Spanish named the mountain “Sierra de Santa Lucia.” It did not carry the name Junipero Serra until 1950.

In 1977, the University of California in Santa Cruz wanted to construct a dark sky observatory at the top of Santa Lucia Mountain. A public hearing was held in Salinas, during which the Indians protested the construction of the observatory. They wanted religious access to the mountain, and did not want

the sacred ground disturbed by such a structure. The University shelved the project temporarily because Indian use of the peak was unresolved. However, Santa Lucia Peak is considered by astronomers to be the best site in California and possibly the U.S. for a dark sky observatory.



Ishi's Hiding Place

Butte County

Ishi's Hiding Place is located at the corner of Oak Avenue and Quincy Road, at the site of the old Ward Slaughterhouse about two miles east of Oroville. The foundation of the slaughterhouse is extensively deteriorated because of weathering. Several residences sit on the upper part of the one-acre site, while the slaughterhouse remains are on the lower portion of the property. An oak tree stands where Ishi was first seen.

Ishi, a Yahi Yana Indian, was the last of his people. Prior to White contact, the Yana population numbered approximately 3,000 in four distinct groupings: the Northern Yana, the Central Yana, the Southern Yana, and the Yahi. Each group maintained its own geographic boundaries, dialects, and customs. The land of the Yana Indian was approximately "40 miles wide and 60 miles long and was an area of fast-flowing streams, precipitous gorges, boulder-strewn hills, and occasional lush meadows." (Olivet Memorial Park:3) The Yana Indians experienced cold, rainy winters and hot summers; hunted wild game; fished for salmon; gathered fruit, acorns, and roots; tanned hides; wove baskets; and fashioned tools.

After James Marshall discovered gold in 1848, miners and ranchers moved into Yana territory, and the traditional food supply changed dramatically. Silt from hydraulic mines polluted salmon streams, and deer and other wild game moved away because livestock depleted the natural food resources. Ishi's people began to raid cattle and fight back because

they were hungry. By 1861, the Southern Yana had ceased to exist, and three years later, the Central and Northern Yana populations had decreased from 2,000 individuals to fewer than 50. In 1865, Ishi and his family were the victims of the Three Knolls Massacre, from which approximately 30 Yahi survived. The remaining Yahi escaped to a remote and relatively safe spot in the hills, but four cattlemen using dogs eventually found the survivors. They killed about half of the Yahi, but the rest found safety farther up in the hills. The surviving Yahi went into a period of concealment and silence that lasted some 40 years. They continued to gather acorns, grind them into flour, and cook acorn mush. They made capes of deerskin and wildcat, and slept under blankets of rabbit skin. The Yana also maintained their traditional customs, which included caring for the sick, cremating the dead, and performing various ceremonies. The last five Yahi Indians built a village on a densely thicketed canyon ledge 500 feet above Deer Creek. Since a grizzly bear had once had its den there, they called it Grizzly Bear's Hiding Place. Eventually, all of Ishi's companions died. After his mother's death in early 1911, Ishi lived alone.

A group of butchers discovered Ishi in their corral at Oroville on August 29, 1911. He was emaciated, starving, exhausted, and frightened. The local sheriff took him to the Oroville Jail where he stayed until Alfred L. Kroeber and T. T. Waterman, professors at the University of California, Berkeley, read about him and decided to bring him to the school's new Museum of Anthropology. Waterman went to Oroville and arranged to take Ishi to San Francisco. After Ishi arrived in San Francisco, he helped Kroeber and Waterman reconstruct Yahi culture. He identified material items and showed how they were made. Ishi worked as an assistant at the Museum until his death from tuberculosis on March 25, 1916. He died at the University of California, Berkeley Hospital when he was about 54 years old. His friends at the museum tried to bury him in the traditional Yahi way by cremating him along with one of his bows, five arrows, a basket of acorn meal, a boxful of shell bead money, a purse full of tobacco, three rings, and some obsidian flakes. Ishi's remains are at Mount Olivet Cemetery near San Francisco.

Mechoopda Indian Rancheria

Butte County

The Mechoopda Indian Rancheria, represented today by the Wilson Home located at 620 Sacramento Avenue in Chico, California, is one of the last remaining buildings of the historic rancheria that was

situated on General John Bidwell's ranch. The house is a wood-frame, single-story structure with a south entrance and covered front porch. The house may be one of the original wood-frame structures built by the Indians living on the Bidwell Ranch in the 1870s, or it may be one of three house types designed for the ranch by an architect commissioned by Mrs. Annie Bidwell in 1910. The Wilson Home is now a private residence and belongs to the descendants of the family. The neighborhood immediately surrounding the site is used predominantly for rentals to students who attend California State University, Chico, a short distance away.

Prior to European contact, evidence indicates that a great variety and supply of food and material resources from several ecological zones were available to the Indians, and that there were several hundred village sites between the Sacramento and Feather rivers in the Chico area. (Hill, 1978:7) Jedediah Smith, the first American trapper to record his visit, entered the region in 1828. Brigades of Hudson Bay Company trappers came shortly thereafter. In 1841, a United States Exploratory Expedition reported that the game around the Feather River had decreased substantially because of the large numbers of animals taken by Bay Company trappers. (Hill, 1978:9) Depletion of food resources seriously affected the Indians living in the region, and tension increased between them and the newly arrived Whites. By 1849, General John Bidwell had established a ranch near Chico Creek. Most of his work force was made up of Mechoopda Indians. More Mechoopdas came to the Bidwell Ranch after the death of rancher John Potter. The leader of Potter's Mechoopda ranch workers asked Bidwell to take them on to his ranch in order that they might continue working. Bidwell agreed to their request and relocated this group of Mechoopdas to the areas between Main and Orient streets and First and Fourth streets in Chico.



Tension between Indians and Whites continued to mount. In 1850, the government authorized treaties with the California Indians whereby the latter would be guaranteed reservations and some economic aid. A treaty of "peace and friendship" was signed on September 18, 1853 with the Mechoopda, Esquiu, Hololupi, Toto, Sunus, Cheno, Batsi, Yutduc, and Simsawa; tribes at Bidwell's Ranch; Indians at Reading's Ranch at Colusa; and tribes along the Consumnes and Yuba rivers. United States Indian Agent O. M. Wozencraft represented the U.S. Government at Bidwell's Ranch. (Hill, 1978:20) In the 60 years following the treaties of 1851, the heavy influx of miners and ranchers caused massive faunal change to the land, equaled only by extinctions of the post-glacial period. Some species, such as condor, elk, antelope, and grizzly bear, disappeared entirely from the Chico region. (Hill, 1978:19)

More than 800 Maidu Indians in Butte County are said to have died from influenza, pneumonia, and tuberculosis by 1853. There are also indications that Indians died from cholera, smallpox, and typhoid. (Hill, 1978:23) In 1863, after much conflict between Indians and Whites, the U.S. government relocated the majority of the Indians in the Chico area to the Round Valley Reservation at Covelo in Mendocino County; however, 300 Indians moved to the Chico Rancheria for protection. They and their descendants remained and worked there for the next 70 years.

In March 1869, the Mechoopda village was relocated to Sacramento Avenue, approximately one mile from Bidwell's residence. It remained there until 1964. Prior to relocation, rancheria houses were traditional, dome-shaped, earthen beehive structures. After the move to Sacramento Avenue, the Indians replaced their traditional homes with wooden structures although three families continued to live in earthen domes. The Indians also built a new dance house 40 feet in diameter, but they burned it down upon the death of the last Mechoopda headman. In the early 1900s, the Mechoopda Indian Rancheria census recorded several Northern California Indian tribes, including the Maidu Mechoopda, the Maidu Konkau, the Maidu Oroville, the Wintun, and the Yana residing at the Rancheria, but Maidu Mechoopda constituted the majority of the population. (Hill, 1978:84)

In 1900 when John Bidwell died, he left provisions and a plot plan in his will for the Indians living on the rancheria. The plot plan assigned 19 lots to certain resident families and individuals. Prior to John Bidwell's demise, Annie Bidwell asked Amanda Wilson, Santa Wilson's wife, to record various aspects of Mechoopda tradition. Amanda Wilson recorded information pertaining to the sweathouse

and its use and to the boys' training for the dance society of which her first husband was leader. This information is now among Annie Bidwell's memoirs at the Bancroft Library. Before Annie Bidwell died, she confirmed her husband's land distribution to the Indians by issuing certificates of title for lots on the rancheria to individual Indians. The only certificate saved was that of title "No. 17," issued to Mr. and Mrs. Santa Wilson. Santa and Amanda received Lot 25 from Annie Bidwell for a consideration of \$1. (Hill, 1978:83) She also deeded 14 acres of land to the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church to be held in trust for the Indians. The board could not pay the taxes on the land, however, so in 1939, on request from the mission, the Bureau of Indian Affairs paid the back taxes and began administering the land. In 1961, the BIA sold the land to California State University, Chico for \$85,000. The BIA distributed the proceeds of the transaction to 45 Mechoopda Indians. In 1964, the tribe received another 12-acre tract of land adjacent to the city of Chico. Today, the Wilson Home is the only remaining evidence of the original Mechoopda Indian Rancheria, which the U.S. government terminated in 1964.

Sutter's Fort

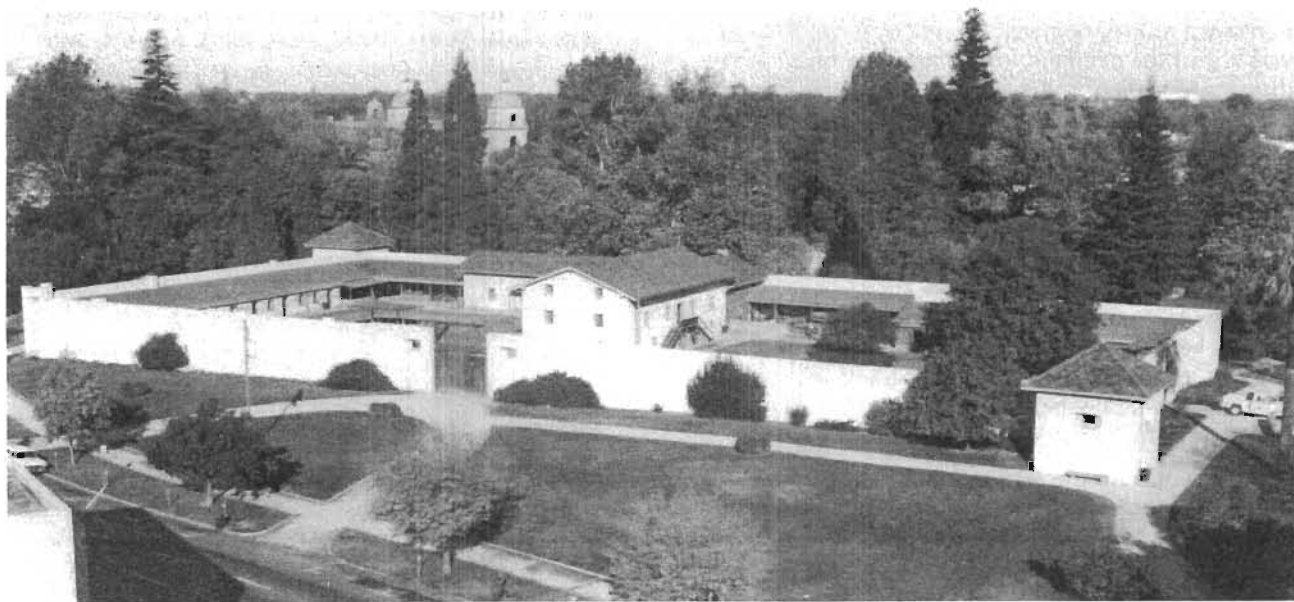
Sacramento County

Sutter's Fort, named after Swiss immigrant John Augustus Sutter, is on 27th and L streets in Sacramento. Designed by Sutter and constructed by Mewuk and Maidu Indians, the reconstructed fort is now a California State Historic Park and a state

historical landmark. It stands on part of its original land, and houses exhibits which include items from the Reed-Donner immigrant party, pioneer firearms, stagecoaches, mining tools, and objects associated with Sutter. Built in 1841, the fort has 18-foot-high, three-foot-thick adobe walls, and encloses a space approximately 500 feet long by 150 feet wide. The bastions, or towers, that rise above the walls in the southeast and northwest corners once housed cannons that commanded all of the fort's gateways except the one on the west. A number of rooms line the inner wall. Detached buildings of wood and adobe brick stand in the inner yard. Some of the wooden buildings were brought from Fort Ross by John Sutter.

Prior to Sutter's arrival, many different tribes lived in the great valley formed by the Sierra Nevada, the Coast Range, and the Tehachapis. The Indians of the Central Valley were hunters, gatherers, fishermen, and basketmakers. The acorn was the staple food in the diet, which also included a wide variety of plants, fish, and small game. Most Indians in the area maintained well-marked territories, which they defended when necessary. In the Sacramento Valley, Indians lived in semi-subterranean conical houses made of logs, bark, or grass. Villages contained from 30 to 50 dwellings, with populations varying between 50 and 150 individuals.

John Augustus Sutter, for whom Fort Sutter is named, was born in Kandern, Switzerland in 1803. He remained there until 1834 when he immigrated to the United States. After much travel and many business ventures, he arrived in California in 1839,



and proceeded to secure a land grant of about 49,000 acres in the Sacramento Valley from the Mexican Government.

When Sutter first came to the valley, he encountered about 200 Plains Mewuk Indians about 12 miles below the present site of the city of Sacramento. Five miles north, he entered into the territory of the Plains Nisenan Maidu Indians. (Hurtado, 1981:70) Sutter went on to establish his fort at the confluence of the American and Sacramento rivers, on Mewuk and Maidu lands. He obtained Indian labor through trade and by appointment of chiefs or men whom he designated as chiefs. He honored the headmen with the title of "capitanos" or captains, and paid them after they supplied him with workers. (Hurtado, 1981:70)

Sutter also seized Indian children in order to maintain an adequate labor supply: "From the first, he was in the habit of seizing Indian children, who were retained as servants or slaves at his establishment, or sent to his friends in different parts of the country. But he always took care to capture for this purpose only children from distant or hostile tribes. . . ." (Bancroft, 1969:138) Sutter's Mewuk and Maidu laborers built the fort, plowed the rancho fields, tended the livestock, worked in the tannery, and served as soldiers in his army. Indian soldiers helped maintain Sutter's power by protecting his establishment from attack by other Indians, Mexican Americans, or others who wanted to interfere with his various frontier enterprises. Later on, many of these same Indian soldiers served with the United States forces during the Mexican War, and helped secure California for the United States. Sutter regularly supplied Indian laborers to other ranchos while he controlled the fort.

Portrayed as an important frontier outpost, the fort was a goal for overland immigrants -- a place where they could replenish their supplies and possibly find work. The contribution of Mewuk and Maidu Indians was not recognized although Indians built the fort, protected it, and worked in all its enterprises. In fact, without their labor and support, it would not have been established or maintained. One Indian remembers an ancestor's efforts at Fort Sutter in the following way: "My grandfather was enslaved by Sutter to help in building the Fort. While he was kept there, Sutter worked him hard and then fed him in troughs. As soon as he could, he escaped and with his family hid in the mountains." (Queenie Miller, 1976)

Sutter maintained the fort and its business enterprises until October 1848. Unable to pay his debts, and in order to avoid foreclosure, he transferred his property to his eldest son. His son then surveyed and laid out what was to become the town of

Sacramento. He offered lots for sale, and by November 1849, the town of Sacramento had a growing population of 10,000. In order to meet a debt of \$40,000, Sutter's son sold the fort, and Sutter moved to Hock Ranch on the Feather River. He lived there until 1865 when he went East. Sutter's Fort deteriorated until 1890, when the Native Sons of the Golden West purchased it. The State of California restored the fort, and in 1937, it became part of the California State Park System.

Mankins Ranch

Plumas County

Mankins Ranch, also known as the Janesville Bear Dance site, is located southeast of Highway 395 near Janesville, California. Thompson Peak lies west of the ranch, and Honey Lake to the east. The Bear Dance ceremonial grounds are approximately two acres in area, and presently belong to Harley Mankins. The ceremonial complex consists of several structures and areas, including a cedar round house built by Tom Epperson in the 1950s, a grass game ramada, a flag stand, communal dance grounds, a barbecue serving area, and a wooded area where visitors put up their tents when they come to participate in the Bear Dance. Surrounding the two-acre complex is a campground established and run by the Mankins family.

The Bear Dance, a Mountain Maidu Indian ceremony, takes place each spring. Prior to the 1900s, its purpose was to share food among the Indian people, and to celebrate life. Although its original meaning is unchanged, the Bear Dance also symbolizes the celebration of the beginning and connecting of all beings, both animate and inanimate. People who participate in the dance share food, prayers, and thanksgiving for their world, as well as respect for two animals that live in the area. The right of the bear and the rattlesnake to co-exist is acknowledged



along with their right to use the same environment. Another important aspect of the Bear Dance is the cleaning of the outward body with medicinal wormwood immediately following the ceremony. During the hours prior to and after the ceremony, many people play hand games or grass games. These, along with the oak and the ceremonial practices, were given to the Maidu to remind them who they are, where they are going, and their right to choose their own direction.

The Maidu Indians hold the Bear Dance in several places in the spring, but the Mankins Ranch site is the home of one of the longest continuously used sites in the region. Therefore, during the 1970s, the Maidu asked the State of California to preserve the Mankins Ranch site as a sacred place under the Religious Freedom Act of 1978. The state, however, wanted to supervise the area as it would a state park, so the Indians withdrew their request. At the present time, the owners of the ranch are responsible for maintaining the grounds and overseeing the Bear Dance. Should anything happen to them, it is uncertain who would take responsibility for the ceremony.

Sherman Institute (Riverside Perris School)

Riverside County

The Sherman Institute is located at 9010 Magnolia Avenue between Jackson and Monroe streets, in Riverside, California. Several buildings stand on the site, including dormitories, administrative offices, a sports stadium, and a museum. The museum is the only remaining original structure. Its style is common to railroad depots at the turn of the century, unlike the mission style of other buildings on the campus. A high chain-link fence surrounds the 140-acre area. Named for James S. Sherman, who later became vice president of the United States under President

William H. Taft, the institute once occupied two locations, the Perris Indian School, south of Riverside, and the Riverside Indian School at the present location. In 1904, the two schools were consolidated, and the Perris Indian School was relocated to the site on which the Sherman Institute now stands.

Sherman housed the first permanent Indian hospital in California. The U.S. Government built it in 1901 in an effort to respond to the serious health problems of California Indians. (Heizer, 1978:118) After having established educational facilities for Indians in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the U.S. Indian Service began to abandon the federal day schools in the late 1920s and 1930s. In spite of its status as an Indian school, the service also began to limit enrollment of California Indian students at the Sherman Institute. As a result of the new enrollment policy, Indian children entered the public schools in greater numbers. In 1964, a U.S. Senate investigating committee wrote a denunciation of both federal and public education for Indian youth. Regarding the Sherman Institute, it stated:

Senate investigators visiting Sherman Institute reported finding an inadequate staff both administratively and academically. Other deficiencies there included inadequately identified goals, outdated vocational training, a severe shortage of counselors, and little vigor on the part of the administration in defending the interest of the students. That year, newly readmitted California Indians could find little improvement over public schools in what an unnamed investigator termed the "rigid, uncompromising, bureaucratic, authoritarian, non-innovative federal barony that controlled Sherman." (U.S. Senate, Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, 1969:75)

In response to the the Senate findings, the California Indian Education Association was formed, and shortly thereafter conducted the first all-Indian, Indian-controlled conference in the United States. A major outcome of the conference was a recommendation that Indians should be involved in education at all levels. Members of the association made two specific recommendations concerning the Sherman Institute: (1) the school should be governed by an all-Indian board of directors; and (2) projects should be undertaken with regard to California Indian enrollment, curriculum changes to express Indian concepts, a lower teacher-student ratio, and accommodations for visiting parents.

In addition to complying with the recommendations of the CIEA, Sherman had to overcome financial difficulties. In 1934, the U.S. government began to provide funding to local school districts to pay the costs for reservation residents in lieu of local taxes under the Johnson-O'Malley Act (JOM). In 1958,



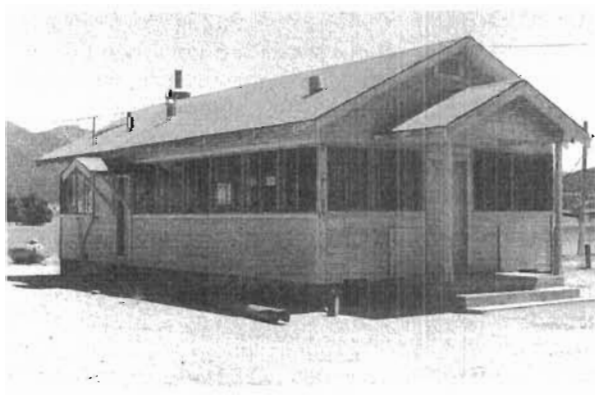
the government provided money to public schools that had high Indian enrollment under Impact Aid (Public Laws 815 and 874) and Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Twenty-five counties in California qualified for funds under Impact Aid and Title I. Therefore, the Bureau of Indian Affairs proposed to cut JOM funds in public schools, and replace them with Impact Aid and Title I funds. However, at this time, JOM funding far exceeded that coming from the other acts. The Bureau decided to use JOM money for special compensatory programs for Indian students. JOM funding to public schools was terminated in 1953, and the Impact Aid and Title I funds went into the general operating budgets of public school districts, but no special Indian programs were initiated. (Heizer, 1978:125) In 1969 and 1970, the American Indian Historical Society and the CIEA helped to reestablish JOM funding. (Heizer, 1978:559)

The primary purpose of the Sherman Institute was to assimilate Indians into the dominant culture. In the early days, therefore, students were not allowed to speak their own language at school, and men and women were not allowed to speak to one another. In spite of these obstacles, hundreds of Indians graduated from Sherman, and many lasting friendships began there. Today, students may hold their religious ceremonies on campus, and there are instructors who teach native Indian languages. Sherman is still a boarding school, and for some families in California, going to Sherman has become a tradition.

Viejas Veterans of Foreign Wars Post #7637

San Diego County

Viejas Veterans of Foreign Wars Post #7637 is an abandoned tribal meeting hall located on Brown's Road northeast of Interstate 8 on the Viejas Indian Reservation near Alpine, California. The Viejas Tribal



Council now owns it. Post #7637 sits on a concrete block foundation. It is approximately 30 by 50 feet in size, a wood-frame, military-style structure with a number of windows.

VFW Post #7637 is important to California Indians because it was the first all-Indian VFW post built in California, and only the second Indian post in the United States. Before abandoning it, residents of Viejas used the building for local meetings and gatherings. On June 6, 1964, Ray Rainwater from District One, San Diego installed Adolph B. Brown as the post's first commander. An estimated 1,000 persons were in attendance to celebrate the occasion. Indians from Viejas, as well as from other reservations in California, and some non-Indians came together for the inauguration. Thomas Hyde, first senior vice-president of the Viejas VFW, stated in an interview in August 1980:

We wanted to help our people. Many Indians, who were veterans, were dying without proper burial or recognition for what they gave to this country. The VFW was a way to organize help for those vets that were having trouble.

More than 10,000 Indians fought in World War I and were not even considered citizens of the United States at that time. (Indian Citizenship Act, 1924, Vol. 2, No. 8) Since 1964, the Viejas VFW Post has suffered a decline in members and is no longer an official post. Its first members are now members of other VFW posts in the San Diego area. Thomas Hyde indicated that the people of Viejas want to see the old post preserved in order to remind people of the first Indian veterans who organized in California. Currently, the tribe is seeking funds to begin restoration and is contemplating using the post as a museum and arts and crafts display area. VFW Post #7637 remains the start of the long road back to self-determination for the Indians of Viejas.

Roberts House (Nashville Hall)

El Dorado County

Roberts House, also called Nashville Hall, is on the west side of Highway 49 in Nashville, which lies between the towns of Plymouth and El Dorado. Built around 1910, the simple wood frame home stands on approximately one acre of land, with vegetation surrounding it, on a small ridge above the road. Composition shingles cover its exterior, and sheet metal protects its gabled roof. The interior of the

structure has been converted to a residence, and is used as such today. An outhouse is located to the rear of the building.

The town of Nashville was once called Quartzburg. It was one of the earliest quartz-mining districts in the state. The first stamp mill to be brought around the Horn from Cincinnati was used at the Old Tennessee Mine. The town itself stands on the site of an ancient Indian camping ground, and a large rancharia still existed in the immediate area when the first miners arrived. Less than a mile south of Nashville and one mile north of the Consumnes River was the site where one of the 18 unratified Indian treaties was drawn up and signed by O. M. Wozencraft, United States Indian Agent.

Nashville Hall holds special significance for Mewuk Indians in this area, because of the fund-raising events that took place here. California Indians realized by 1920 that the courts were the place to settle land claims issues. They also knew that attorneys and court proceedings cost money. Through the Reverend F. G. Collett, the Indians of Northern California decided to seek compensation for lands seized illegally during the 1850s. U.S. Congressman John E. Raker introduced a bill during the 1920s that would have enabled any California tribe or band to select private attorneys of their own choosing to sue the United States for Indian lands that had been taken away. (Forbes, 1969:103) After being defeated several times, the bill was finally approved, and Indians began holding fund-raising meetings in an effort to use their newly won rights.

Four meetings were held in November 1922 including one at Nashville where "considerable interest, and enthusiasm was manifested. The attendance was large and everyone more determined than ever to work for the success of the cause." (*California Indian Herald*, 1922)

Nashville Hall was also the site of Mewuk Indian social dances, common to the times, that helped raise money for the land claims settlement case. The captains or headmen of the area organized and helped different groups do the work for the dances, and both Indians and non-Indians attended them. The Indians served dinner to the guests at midnight, and everyone became part of a common cause. Many of those people who contributed the most to the dances never received any of the monetary settlement that the U.S. Government provided in 1950.



Round Valley Flour Mill

Mendocino County

The Round Valley Flour Mill, constructed in the 1880s, stands alone on the northeast corner of a one-acre lot at the corner of Greeley and Main Streets in Covelo, California. Five walnut trees grow around the building on the southwest side of Mill Creek. The mill is approximately 40 feet wide and 70 feet long, three stories high, with weathered wooden shiplap siding and a corrugated metal gabled roof. A decorative false-front facade and rounded cornice dominate the eastern rectangular section of the mill, while a rusty, five-pointed star and the dates in raised wooden lettering "1888-1914" adorn the upper, rounded section of the facade, which was added in 1914. The ground floor has a large sliding door, a conventional front entry door, and two windows. The front of the flour mill has a chute that extends from the top floor to the first floor on the left side. Some of the mill's machinery dates to the 1880s and was operable as recently as 1975. To the north of the flour mill lot is a light commercial district, and to the south and west are residential neighborhoods. Today, the mill exists as an example of a steam-powered, steel-roller grain mill.

The flour mill at Round Valley is important because it provided work for Indians who had been relocated to the Covelo area in the 1850s and 1860s. The land on which the mill stands was once the territory of the Yuki Indians. They used about 1,100 square miles of this region, which ranged from 1,000 feet to 7,500 feet in elevation, for hunting, fishing, and gathering. To the north of the Yukis were the Wailaki; to the west, the Cahto; to the southeast, the Huchnom; to the southwest, the Pomo; and to the east, the Nomelaki. After 1860, many tribes were "driven" to Nome Cult Farm from their various homelands in Northern California. It was intended that they be segregated, and that White occupation

of their traditional lands be accommodated. The word "drive," widely used at the time, is descriptive of the practice of "rounding up" Indians and "driving" them like cattle to reservations, where they were corralled. (Fredrickson, 1979:41) The first group of outside Indians to enter Round Valley were the Konkaws in 1856. Other groups arrived in 1863 including the Konkows and Maidus. The Pit Rivers were taken in 1861, the Little Lakes between 1865 and 1875, some of the Wailaki in 1861, some Nomelakis in 1863, and the Hat Creeks and some Wappos and Cahtos in 1862. The Yahí Yana from Mill Creek entered the reservation in 1863, and a group of Yankee Hills Pit Rivers arrived in 1864. The Huchnom from Redwood Valley were forced onto the reservation in 1869, and Pomo Indians from Mendocino and Lake counties arrived in 1874.

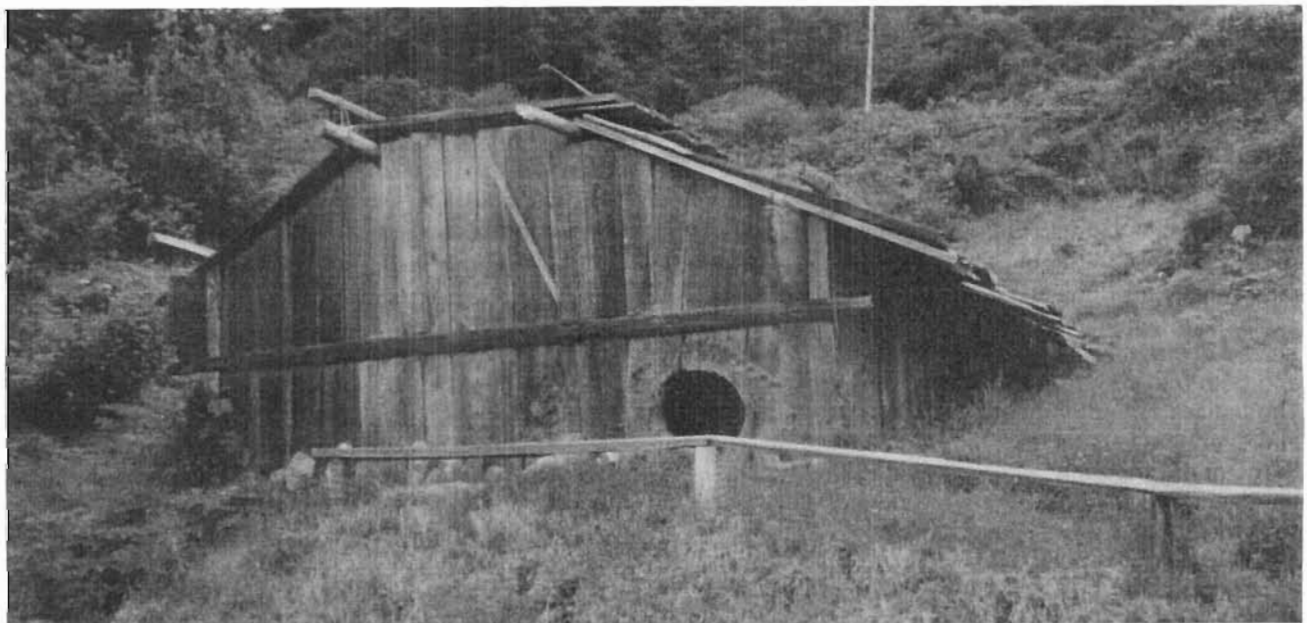
After considerable suffering from lack of traditional food, the Indian families residing at Round Valley received land allotments of various sizes under the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887. However, in 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act repealed the Dawes Act, and no Indian was allowed to buy or sell land, hold deeds, or handle cash. (Fredrickson, 1979:48) Because the government policy in Round Valley between 1887 and 1934 focused on agricultural and stock development, the flour mill provided valuable work and training for Indians in the area. It also served as a outlet for the Indians' milling of crops. The mill not only played a prominent role in the growth of local agriculture, but also helped reservation Indians acquire new skills at a time when they

no longer had easy access to their traditional way of life.

Re-Kwoi (Requa)

Del Norte County

Re-kwoi was once a thriving Yurok Indian village of approximately 25 houses and 14 sweathouses. Covering an area of about 100 square meters, it was one of the most important Yurok sites on the northwest coast of California. (Waterman, 1920:Map 8) A single reconstructed redwood plank house now represents old Re-kwoi. The house is 150 years old, has a single pitched roof, and a round entry way that faces west. The site of Re-kwoi, located on a gravel road about one and one-half miles off Highway 101, is at the mouth of the Klamath River. Several distinguishing landmarks found near the site are a radar station to the north and three large rocks, White Rock, False Klamath Rock, and Wilson Rock to the south and east. Re-kwoi lies at the juncture of the coast and river divisions of the Yurok people. Situated on a moderate slope, it allowed easy access to the river and commanded a good view upstream and of the beach on the south side of the river mouth. An island, traditionally called "Oregos," to the west of the site, served as a field for playing the Indian Stick Game. There is a dense cover of alder, hazel, nettle, cow parsnip, thimbleberry, Scotch broom, and equisetum around the site. The only



Re-Kwoi, Del Norte County

cleared areas are where modern structures are located, including the reconstructed dwelling, a shed, and a cemetery above the house site.

Re-kwoi means "creek mouth" in the Yurok language. It derives its meaning from the name of the village and clan on the north side of the mouth of the Klamath River. Prior to contact, each Yurok village had a chief, and the clans and villages carried the same name. Both sides of the Klamath River supported dense populations of Yurok Indians. In 1881, A. J. Bledsoe put the number of Indians in Klamath County at 3,000 to 5,000 individuals, most of them on the Klamath River and its tributaries.

The Yuroks of Re-kwoi were hunters, fishermen, and gatherers. Important food resources included salmon, seals, sea lions, marine fish, mollusks, shore birds, migratory waterfowl, bear, elk, deer, and rabbits. By 1829, they had established fur trade relationships with representatives from the Hudson Bay Company. In 1848, the first miners under Pierson B. Reading entered the area of the Trinity River. No one exploited the Re-kwoi region extensively until 1850, but by 1851, Yuroks were working as miners and furriers. An 1852 census taken by a fur trader indicated that Re-kwoi had 22 houses and 116 people.

Tension increased as more outsiders entered Yurok territory, and the inevitable outcome was conflict and killing between Yuroks and Whites. The Red Cap War which began in 1855 led to the removal of the Yuroks and seven other tribes to the Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation. The eight tribes were to share the reservation land equally, and retain the right to joint control forever. (Baker, 1967:8) In 1891, the U.S. Government enlarged the reservation to encompass a mile-wide strip down each side of the Klamath River for a distance of 40 miles to the Pacific Ocean; because this was part of the Yuroks' traditional land, they began to use it.

The Yurok fished on the extension along the Klamath River until 1964, when the Department of Fish and Game began arresting them and confiscating their nets. The region was part of the reservation, and was protected under U.S. law from outside interference. The Yuroks took the fishing issue to the Humboldt County Superior Court. They won, and when the case was appealed to the District Court of Appeals in San Francisco, the Humboldt decision was upheld. The final decision from San Francisco ruled that the Department of Fish and Game had seized fishing nets illegally, and that the State was preempted from jurisdiction in the case because reservation land was in question.

Today, the site of Re-kwoi and the areas adjacent to it continue to be part of a complex religious and

social organization where the Jump Dance, Brush Dance, White Deerskin Dance, and Ghost Dance, which are part of the World Renewal System of the Yurok, take place. These dances have been held from time immemorial. The Jump Dance held at Re-kwoi was different in details from the "jumping dances held at nearby villages of Weitspus and Pekwan. The observances during the final two and one-half days were held under some trees on the flat at we'klwa. . . . In connection with this dance there was a 'sacred' house, opyu' weg (where they dance)." (Waterman 1920:231) Re-kwoi serves as a part of the past and present complex social structure of the Yurok Indians.

Nome Lackee Indian Reservation

Tehama County

What remains of the Nome Lackee Indian Military Post is in the rolling foothills of the Coast Range, in the southeast section of Tehama County near Fournoy, California. A survey completed in 1858 indicated that the Nome Lackee Post once encompassed approximately 23,000 acres. A commemorative bronze plaque set in stone reads:

Indian Military Post 1854-1866

Nomi Lakee Indian Reservation

The foundations of the old military headquarters building and several other buildings also stand on the site. At one time, the Nome Lackee Post was said to have been surrounded by a 10-foot-high, 2-1/2-foot-thick adobe wall used for protection. Within the wall, there were two buildings for government employees, a dining hall and kitchen, a granary, and a warehouse. Outside the wall there were an adobe building for the Indian Agent, a building for an officer and his family, and other buildings including a blacksmith shop, general workshop, doctor's office, grist mill, large barn, and stable. The post had 600 fruit trees and 1,000 acres of grain under cultivation, including 300 acres of rye and barley, with the total acreage estimated to yield 25,000 bushels. There were also five wells on the land, and domestic animals such as cows, fowl, hogs, horses, mules, and oxen.

The U.S. Government established the Nome Lackee Military Post in 1854, two years after it set up the Tejon Military Post in Southern California. Nome Lackee existed for seven years, and was the direct result of the Indian Appropriation Act of March 3, 1852, which authorized the President

... to make five military reservations from the public domain in the state of California, or the territories of Utah and New Mexico, bordering on said state, for Indian purposes. Provided that such reservations shall not contain more than twenty-five thousand acres in each ... that said reservations shall not be made upon any lands inhabited by citizens of California, and the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars is hereby appropriated ... to defray the expense of subsidizing the Indians in California and removing them to said reservations for protection. ... (U.S. Congress, Indian Appropriation Act, 31st Congress, 1st Sess., 1852, Vol. 8, Doc. 59:8)

In 1854, Superintendent of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Henley directed the reserve to be located in Northern California, in what is now Tehama County. Henley, with the assistance of H. L. Ford and others, looked for land that would be appropriate for a military post. They eventually found several valleys suited for the purpose, and made contact with the Indians residing in the area, the "Nome Lacka." The Indians agreed to gather together their remaining 300 people and settle on the reservation. From then on, the post was called the Nome Lackee Indian Reservation.

The California public reacted favorably to Indian removal in the 1800s because miners and settlers wanted access to Indian lands. However, the Indians' reaction to removal to the reservations was quite different. One person described how one group of Indians felt upon seeing the reservation land for the first time:

... the poor Indians began to show some signs that they had a regret in leaving the place of their birth. The women in the wagons set up that peculiar plaintive cry used by them at their funerals, while the men walked behind the wagons in mournful silence. (*San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, Sept. 22, 1857, p. 1, col. 2)

Observations of Nome Lackee life in October 1854 indicate that approximately 200 Indians lived on the post with little food or clothing, even though these were to have been provided by the U.S. Government. Conditions changed, however, and by August 1855, it was said that about 1,000 well-fed and clothed Indians were living at Nome Lackee. Records show between 1,500 and 2,000 Indians present by April 1856, with about 1,000 acres of wheat under cultivation. In addition, there were numerous houses and a flour mill.

In 1856, the Nome Cult Farm, an extension to the Nome Lackee Reservation, was established in Mendocino County. It was at this time that a special agent recommended that the Nome Lackee reservation be abandoned, and that the Nome Cult Farm be made into a reservation. However, no one acted on this recommendation. In 1857, General John E. Wool withdrew all of the soldiers stationed at Nome Lackee on the excuse that the land had not been surveyed. In the absence of the military, the *Marysville Herald* reported that the Indians were regarded as a threat to employees and agents. (*Marysville Herald*, Jan. 8, 1857, p. 2, col. 1) In spite of the threat, the state continued to send Indians to Nome Lackee, although a group of Yuba Indians were sent to the Nome Cult Farm during this time. In September 1857, reports indicated that the



reservation was prosperous and growing. There were between 2,500 and 3,000 Indians living at Nome Lackee, and they harvested between 10,000 and 12,000 bushels of wheat. (*San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, Sept. 11, 1857. p. 1, col. 2)

In 1858, Henley asked the State Senate and Assembly to send a joint committee to one reservation to report on its management, the condition of the Indians, and the likelihood of the reservation being able to fulfill its humane purposes. He suggested Nome Lackee as a representative reservation. Correspondents of the *Alta California* accused Henley of fraud in 1858, and he left his position as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1859, the year that the U.S. Government began investigations of the entire reservation system.

Washington sent J. Ross Browne and G. Bailey to California to investigate charges of fraud, corruption, and dishonesty. (Goodman, 1966:148) Focusing on Henley and some of the agents he employed, Browne found evidence of fraud, maltreatment, and dishonesty on all reservations. He charged Vincent E. Geiger, then the Indian Agent at Nome Lackee, "with selling equipment that belonged to the Reservation and of being involved with illegal transfers of the Reservation land to private parties." (Goodman, 1966:158) The land transfers occurred after the reservation was improperly surveyed. A large portion of the reservation was omitted from the survey and subsequently acquired by Geiger. Geiger was also charged with indenturing Indians. Although the California Indenture Act of 1855 made this procedure legal, Browne found the practice deplorable, as did much of the public. The *Sacramento Union* published a list of Indians indentured to Geiger and his associate, F. Titus, under the title, "Indian Indenture: A Nice System of Slavery." Geiger also felt that the lands of Nome Lackee "should be thrown open to the occupancy of our citizens." (Hislop, 1978:49-50)

The Secretary of the Interior called for the abandonment of Nome Lackee in 1859, based on seven facts, including statements that the Indians were peaceful, that Geiger's personal conduct was objectionable, and that mismanagement of the reservation was evident. Although Geiger told people that Nome Lackee was prospering, outside reports indicate that it and the Indians were faring poorly.

On February 27, 1861, the Knights of the Golden Circle, a secret secessionist society from the south that had frequented the reservation with the knowledge of Geiger, attacked Nome Lackee. (Hislop, 1978:57) The reservation was soon in ruins, and most of the Indians were moved to the Nome Cult Farm, which had been made into a reservation called Round Valley. Geiger himself was removed

from office. In 1863, he fatally stabbed Captain A. S. Wells, and was reported to have escaped to Victoria, British Columbia.

Under the authority of the Appropriation Act of 1863, the U.S. Government began to sell Nome Lackee land in 1870, but Indians continued to live on the land. There is no evidence, however, to indicate that they benefitted from what remained of the reservation.

Dry Creek Valley Area

Sonoma County

The Dry Creek Valley Area encompasses approximately 8,765 acres, and includes tributaries of Cherry Creek, Yorty Creek, and Warm Springs Creek. Geologically, the valley lies between two identified faults that run northwest to southeast, the Healdsburg Fault on the east and the Porter Creek Fault to the west. A third fault, the Mount Jackson Fault, is to the west of the Porter Creek Fault. Soil types in the region range from sandy clay, fine gravel, and slightly plastic silts to well-graded sandy gravels. The topography of the valley includes ridges with conifers standing on the higher crests; oaks, manzanita, and brush scattered over the slopes and levels; wet, low places where tules grow; and deep ravines. Some botanical resources collected by the Pomo Indians living in the area were acorns, pine nuts, pepperwood, nuts, toyon, manzanita, angelica, yerba santa, sedge and willow for baskets, soaproot, and horsetail.

The Dry Creek Valley Area is one of the traditional homes of the Pomo Indians, who are part of the Hokan language family. Upon contact, Upper Dry Creek, with its affluent Warm Springs Creek, was the home of one or two tribal units. "Shawako, Walnutse in Wappo, on Dry Creek at the mouth of Pina Creek is likely to have been the center of another group. On lower Dry Creek . . . in the vicinity of Healdsburg, a great number of villages have been recorded. . . . They are likely to have been at least two or three units. Wotok-Katon was the seat of one of these divisions, as a prominent chief - Santiago or Soto - is mentioned, after whom the village or 'tribe' was also called Sotoyome." (Kroeber, 1976:233)

Today, there are only remnants of the other tribelets of lower Dry Creek, but the Mahikaune Pomo dialect is still in use, and 100-200 Pomos can trace their ancestry to the prehistoric residents of the valley. Some can trace their heritage directly back to the ancient village site of Aca Modot which is about two miles downstream from the Warm Springs Dam Project area. Although water from Warm Springs Dam now covers many of its prehistoric Pomo sites, the Dry Creek basin remains a focus of ethnic

identity and a source of botanical materials. The Mahikaune Pomos continue to speak their language and maintain territorial identity, genealogical data, patterns of intergroup relations, aspects of religion and healing, traditional foods, and other facets of their culture and organization.

In 1962, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers began to plan the Warm Springs/Lake Sonoma Project, which involved the Dry Creek Valley area. The project included an earth dam in conjunction with a reservoir, spillways, recreation areas, a fish hatchery, and a headquarters and visitors' building. Construction of the dam was underway by 1972, and in March 1976, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers held a public hearing to discuss the archeological significance of Dry Creek Valley in relation to protecting the natural resources used by the Pomo Indians residing in the region. For example, for more than 60 years, the Kashaya Pomo had collected wildflowers and flowering shrubs to use in their Strawberry Festival; Elsie Allen, Mabel McKay, Lucy Smith, Laura Somersal, and other well-known basketmakers had taken sedge and willow from the Dry Creek Valley area to use in making some of the finest baskets in the world. After the hearing and many subsequent meetings, the Corps of Engineers agreed to relocate sedge, willow, lobatium, and angelica to areas that would not be affected by the project. This would allow Pomo basketmakers to continue collecting the materials they needed for their craft. Petroglyphs were also relocated to

unaffected areas, and a Critical Habitat Zone Evaluation was begun, along with a Pomo Food Interpretive Project. A visitor center was established to orient visitors to Pomo culture, an interpretive museum was built, and a Pomo language project was initiated. When the basket sedge was replanted, the Indians held a ceremony commemorating the process. Forty-eight thousand sedge plants were relocated to unaffected areas. Although cultural precautions were taken to maintain the integrity of the site, many of the 65 prehistoric and 45 historic sites were covered with water.

Laura Somersal, a Pomo basketmaker living in Sonoma County, stated in 1980:

We used to be able to gather sedge from the Warm Springs area. Because of the dam going in, we can't do it anymore. They have replanted the sedge, but it will be three to five years before we'll know if that will work. We haven't been out since they bulldozed Dry Creek. There is just a little sedge left, way up above. I saw a place at Sacramento on the Yolo side last time I was there that was all in houses. I don't know where we can find a place. We have not been out since the bulldozing.

Many Indian people feel that the dam will have a disastrous fate because of the faults surrounding it. However, the greatest tragedy is that the Dry Creek Valley Area will be lost as a cultural resource once water fills the valley.

Historical Listing

- * 1. **Ahwahnee**, Mariposa County
 - * 2. **Alcatraz**, San Francisco
 - 3. **Anderson Marsh**, Lake County
 - 4. **Angel Island**, Marin County
 - 5. **Anoyum**, San Diego County
 - 6. **Bald Rock Dome**, Butte County
 - 7. **Black Mountain**, San Luis Obispo County
 - * 8. **Bloody Island**, Lake County
 - 9. **Bryte Memorial Building**, Yolo County
 - 10. **Camp Hill**, San Luis Obispo County
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- * 11. **Captain Jack's Stronghold**, Modoc County
 - 12. **Channel Islands**, Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, and Ventura counties
 - 13. **Chaw'se/Indian Grinding Rock State Historic Park**, Amador County
 - * 14. **Cherokee**, Butte County
 - 15. **Chimney Rock**, San Luis Obispo County
 - 16. **Cho-Lollo**, Tulare County
 - * 17. **Cupa**, San Diego County
 - * 18. **D-Q University**, Yolo County
 - 19. **Dana Point**, Orange County
 - * 20. **Dry Creek Valley**, Sonoma County
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- 21. **El Scorpion Ranch**, Los Angeles County
 - 22. **Estens and Kuvuny**, Ventura County
 - 23. **Ferndale Ranch**, Ventura County
 - 24. **Foresta Big Meadow**, Mariposa County
 - 25. **Fort Bidwell Boarding School**, Modoc County
 - 26. **Fort Bidwell School**, Modoc County
 - 27. **Fort Gaston**, Humboldt County
 - 28. **Frank Day's Home**, Butte County
 - 29. **Gabriel's Grave**, Monterey County
 - 30. **Glen Eden Springs**, Riverside County
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- 31. **Greenville Meeting Hall**, Plumas County
 - 32. **Gunther Island**, Humboldt County
 - 33. **Helo/Mescalitan Island**, Santa Barbara Island
 - 34. **Herbert Young's Residence**, Butte County
 - * 35. **Hilltop Tavern**, Alameda County
 - 36. **Hopland High School**, Mendocino County
 - 37. **Humqaa**, Santa Barbara County
 - 38. **Hunting Blinds**, Modoc County
 - * 39. **Ishi's Hiding Place**, Butte County
 - 40. **Knights Ferry**, Stanislaus County

* Sites included in this report

Historical Listing—cont'd.

- 41. **La Casa Grande**, Sonoma County
 - 42. **La Jolla Village**, San Diego County
 - * 43. **Lake County Courthouse**, Lake County
 - 44. **Las Viejas Mission**, San Diego County
 - 45. **Madonna Mountain**, San Luis Obispo County
 - * 46. **Malki Museum**, Riverside County
 - 47. **Manchester Reservation School**, Mendocino County
 - 48. **Manchester Round House**, Mendocino County
 - * 49. **Mankins Ranch**, Plumas County
 - 50. **Marie Potts' Home**, Sacramento County
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- * 51. **Mechoopda Indian Rancheria**, Butte County
 - 52. **Mutamai**, San Diego County
 - 53. **Mesa Grande Street**, San Diego County
 - 54. **Mount Diablo**, Contra Costa County
 - * 55. **Nome Lackee Indian Reservation**, Tehama County
 - * 56. **North Fork School**, Madera County
 - 57. **Old Kashia Elementary School**, Sonoma County
 - 58. **Old Spanish Town**, Santa Barbara County
 - 59. **Old Tule Reservation**, Tulare County
 - 60. **Onomyo**, Santa Barbara County
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- 61. **Painted Cave**, Monterey County
 - 62. **Painted Caves**, San Luis Obispo County
 - 63. **Pate Valley**, Tuolumne County
 - 64. **Pete's Adobe**, San Diego County
 - * 65. **Place Where They Burnt the Digger**, Amador County
 - 66. **Port San Luis**, San Luis Obispo County
 - * 67. **Quechla**, San Diego County
 - 68. **Ramona Bowl**, Riverside County
 - 69. **Rancho Canada Larga**, Ventura County
 - * 70. **Re-kwoi**, Del Norte County
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- 71. **Rice Canyon Petroglyph Area**, Lassen County
 - * 72. **Roberts House**, El Dorado County
 - 73. **Rogério's Rancho**, Los Angeles County
 - 74. **Round Valley Commissary**, Mendocino County
 - * 75. **Round Valley Flour Mill**, Mendocino County
 - 76. **Round Valley Methodist Church**, Mendocino County
 - 77. **Rust's Cemetery**, Mariposa County
 - 78. **San Pasqual Battlefield State Historic Park**, San Diego County
 - 79. **San Pasqual Cemetery**, San Diego County
 - * 80. **Santa Lucia Peak**, Monterey County
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* Sites included in this report

Historical Listing—cont'd.

- 81. **Santa Rosa Rancheria**, Kings County
 - * 82. **Sherman Institute**, Riverside County
 - 83. **Shisholop**, Ventura County
 - 84. **Sloughhouse**, Sacramento County
 - 85. **Paauw/Smith**, San Diego County
 - 86. **Smith River Shaker Church**, Del Norte County
 - 87. **Sonoma Barracks, Sonoma State Historic Park**, Sonoma County
 - 88. **Squem**, Monterey County
 - 89. **State Capitol**, Sacramento County
 - * 90. **Sutter's Fort**, Sacramento County
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- 91. **Takimildin**, Humboldt County
 - 92. **Tejon Indian Reservation**, Kern County
 - 93. **Tischler Rock**, Orange County
 - 94. **Tommy Merino's Home**, Plumas County
 - 95. **Toro Creek**, San Luis Obispo County
 - 96. **Trabuco Adobe**, Orange County
 - 97. **Tulapop**, Los Angeles County
 - * 98. **Viejas V.F.W.**, San Diego County
 - 99. **Wilson Cemetery**, Mariposa County
 - 100. **Wilton Baseball Field**, Sacramento County
 - 101. **Ya-Ka-Ama**, Sonoma County
 - 102. **Yosemite Rancheria**, Mariposa County



Indian Grinding Rock State Historic Park, Amador County

* Sites included in this report

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A History of **BLACK AMERICANS** in California

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A HISTORY OF BLACKS IN CALIFORNIA

This report, an historical overview of the Afro-American experience in California, was drawn from both oral and documentary accounts to identify and interpret significant Afro-American cultural resources. The study broadly covers the period from the Spanish and Mexican era through World War II, with the years between 1850 and 1940 examined in greatest detail.

To date, little factual information has been collected concerning Black presence in the decades immediately following statehood. There are few references to the experience of Black people either in nineteenth-century local histories or in later and more scholarly interpretive histories. It is only recently that rural, poor, and ethnic minorities have been given serious consideration by American historians. Yet, despite scholarly neglect, the experience of Black Californians has been recorded in the memories of living people. And it is from these memories -- both recollections and eyewitness accounts -- that much of the historical data compiled in this report has been obtained.

Lay persons and scholars alike seem to believe that before 1940 there were virtually no Black people in the state. Contrary to these notions, although Afro-American people were comparatively few in number before World War II, they were settled throughout the state and made significant contributions to its development and growth. Population centers during the nineteenth century were located in the state's northern region. More than 60 percent of the Black persons in California counted in the United States Census of 1850 lived in Mother Lode mining towns. Within the decade of the 1850s, the population doubled and shifted away from the mines, so a mere 30 percent of the 3,721 Black persons enumerated in the 1860 census lived in the Mother Lode.

By 1900, 7,858 Black people lived in California, widely distributed among both northern and southern counties. Numerically small until the late 1940s, the group maintained a steady growth rate, although it never exceeded one percent of the total population. However, once the population center shifted to Southern California in the two decades before World War II, the growth rate in Los Angeles County alone doubled the rate for the entire state.

The presence of Black people in California dates back to the Spanish colonial expansion. When the Spanish expeditions to the Pacific Coast were being organized, Africans, present in Mexico by the sixteenth century, were recruited. Serving in various capacities, free men of African ancestry helped establish California missions and pueblos. They constituted 25 percent of Juan Bautista de Anza's 1775 expedition to San Francisco, and more than 50 percent of the colony established at Los Angeles in 1781.

In fact, the first non-Indian buried in Monterey was a Black man. Entry number one in the first *Book of Deaths* at the Mission San Carlos Borromeo, the second mission established in California and the first in Northern California, was a Black man, Alex Nino.

Under Mexican rule, some Black persons who were naturalized Mexican citizens attained eminence in California. At the beginning of the American period, Richard Freeman, an Afro-American born in the eastern United States, joined the small American colony at San Diego. On February 10, 1847, Freeman bought the Ponciano property, a lot and a four-room, one-story adobe building. There, he resided with Allen Light, the colony's other Afro-American, until his death in 1851. These men operated a profitable grog shop known as the San Diego House in the adobe during their four years' residence.

Not much is known about the association of these two men before the period of their San Diego residency, although there are a few records on Light's life. Light, a native of Philadelphia, was in New York by 1827, the year an affidavit was prepared certifying the 24-year-old man's free status. History records him as present in California sometime around 1835. Light deserted the ship *Pilgrim* that year to remain in the Mexican territory. Along the Pacific Coast, he quickly gained prominence as a sea otter hunter. Some of his activities have been recorded in Richard Henry Dana's book, *Two Years Before the Mast*. By 1839, Light was a Mexican citizen, commissioned by the Alcalde of Santa Barbara to enforce Mexican maritime law as it pertained to sea otter hunting. Light moved to Humboldt County sometime after Freeman's death and died there in 1881. Mary Light, whom he apparently married after leaving San Diego, died six years before her husband.

Black people also settled in the village of Yerba Buena on San Francisco Bay. William Alexander Leidesdorff, born in 1810 in the Virgin Islands to a Danish man and an African woman, was reputedly the wealthiest and certainly one of the village's most influential men. He achieved great prominence during his seven-year residence in San Francisco, through commercial and political endeavors. In addition to San Francisco properties, Leidesdorff received Rancho Rio de los Americanos (later known as Folsom) in eastern Sacramento County as a Mexican land grant.

Following Leidesdorff's untimely death, the city fathers, as a tribute to their distinguished early citizen, staged an impressive funeral. However, a memorial befitting this famous pioneer was never erected in the city to which he made such a profound contribution.

Delegates to California's 1849 constitutional convention drafted a charter that created a non-slave state, yet they severely proscribed the civil rights of free persons of color. After admission to the Union, the California



Clinton Chapel A.M.E. Episcopal Church, Stanislaus County

Legislature, in its first sessions, enacted further proscriptions in order to disenfranchise Black citizens. Black people had no right to: 1) testify in court against a White person; ¹ 2) receive a public education; ² 3) homestead public lands; ³ or 4) vote.⁴

California's Black leadership held conventions in several northern counties during the nineteenth century to develop political strategies and social programs designed to bring about a new political order. Four State Conventions of the Colored Citizens of California were convened between 1855-1865 in order to secure full citizenship. Sacramento's Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, the first Black church west of the Mississippi, hosted three of the four conventions. The fourth was held in San Francisco.

Born of political circumstances, the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church was the oldest Black church in the United States. In 1787, Richard Allen led the withdrawal of Black Methodists from the predominantly White Philadelphia congregation with whom the group had worshipped, and created a racially separate church. W.E.B. DuBois described that church as "the greatest Negro organization in the world," ⁵ an accolade earned through active involvement in secular affairs. Black theology, as the A.M.E. Church interpreted it, was inseparable from practical matters of liberation. Committed to combatting institutionalized prejudice and bringing about a new political order, the church made available financial support, meeting rooms, and an educated leadership wherever it emerged.

Whenever possible, new branches of African Methodism were organized. Thus, the church seized on the opportunity to establish African Methodism in California immediately following statehood.

Sacramento's A.M.E. Church formally established the A.M.E. Church of California, and for more than three decades it was the principal Black denomination in the state. A.M.E. churches emerged in various towns, built on the efforts of the church's educated leadership and the strength of its political program. By the time the Third Annual Convention of Ministers and lay delegates to the California Conference met in September 1863, substantial and comfortable houses of worship stood in Coloma, Marysville, Sacramento, Stockton, San Francisco, Grass Valley, and Nevada City. All that remains in most gold mining towns to designate the first sites of Black political activity are the words, "African Church," written across lots on nineteenth-century property maps.

The decision was made in 1854 for the first State Convention "to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning the Legislature of California for a change in the law relating to the testimony of colored people in the Courts of Justice of this State." ⁶ Forty-nine delegates from 10 counties were present at the First Colored Convention of California, held in Sacramento's Bethel African Methodist Church November 20-22, 1855. The general assembly created an association with county auxiliaries and a \$10,000 discretionary fund to wage a formal statewide campaign against statutory disenfranchisement.

The right to testimony was virtually tantamount to free status. Without it, individuals could not protect personal status or property from either the allegations or assault of others. The Civil Practice Act, Section 394, which passed into law in 1852, made the testimony of a Black person inadmissible in the courts when offered in cases involving a White person.

While the convention's primary objective was repeal of the law that deprived Black people of the right to testimony, education was also recognized as a key issue. Many delegates considered education to be the vehicle for change. Convention delegates spoke of education as "a quality, a

means to dignify men, to enable them to command respect of their fellows and increase their intelligence and wealth.”⁷

An education committee was created at the Second Convention, held at the same location in Sacramento, December 9-12, 1856. The education committee did much to secure educational opportunities for Black youth. A statewide committee of Black men selected by the Second Convention’s general assembly spearheaded the campaign to repeal the 1852 law that barred Black children from the common schools.⁸ Concurrently, it assisted parent groups trying to secure admission to their local common schools, and as an interim measure, it established private schools to provide immediate instruction.

The Black church, and particularly the African Methodist Episcopal Church of California (A.M.E.), through its missions and stations, opened the first schools. By 1854, both the Sacramento and San Francisco A.M.E. churches had set up classrooms in their basements. Actions taken by Black parents in local school districts precipitated a series of amendments to legislation concerning segregated schools. Incremental changes between 1852 and 1879 gave Black children legal access to a separate, although unequal, education. Statutory proscription of Black children’s right to a public education was not repealed until 1880.

For a limited period in the 1850s, some school districts admitted Black children to common schools. When the Grass Valley Common School opened in 1854, three Black children were admitted. Parents, on learning that the presumably White children each had a Black parent, petitioned the trustees for their removal. The trustees refused, and the petition was forwarded to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction who invoked the 1852 statute and ordered the trustees to exclude the children or lose their state funding. The trustees refused. The superintendent, who at that time did not have the power to revoke funding, could not censor the trustees. The legislature soon amended the school segregation bill to



Allen Chapel A.M.E. Church, Riverside County

give the State Superintendent censorship power. After 1860, the superintendent could indeed censor a district by removing its state funds.

Formal educational institutions housed in buildings outfitted as schools began to appear in the 1860s through efforts organized by Black communities and supported by their subscriptions. Private schools opened in towns like Nevada City, Marysville, Oakland, San Jose, and Red Bluff. In 1864, the State Superintendent of Public Schools, John Swett, in his *Thirteenth Annual Report*, stated that there were 831 Black school-age children in California, and six state-supported “colored schools.” Located in San Francisco, Sacramento, Marysville, San Jose, Stockton, and Petaluma, these schools could serve only a fraction of the Black youth. Furthermore, the colored schools did not meet the Black communities’ requirement that their children enjoy equal access to publicly supported education. In 1872, Mrs. Harriet A. Ward, on behalf of her daughter Mary Frances who was denied admission by Principal Noah Flood of the Broadway School in San Francisco, initiated California’s first school segregation court case. Eighteen months later, the State Supreme Court established the principle of “separate but equal” in California school law, in the *Ward v. Flood* case.

Even after the school segregation legislation was repealed, vestiges of discriminatory practices against Black students had to be removed through judicial intervention. Visalia, a district in Tulare County that resisted educating its Black youth until 1873, did not desegregate until 1890, and then only under a court order. Edmund Wysinger, a Black resident of Visalia, filed a writ of mandate on behalf of his minor son, Arthur, on October 2, 1888, challenging a public institution’s authority to deny a group its constitutional right because of race, color, or national origin. On March 1, 1890, the California Supreme Court, in *Wysinger v. Crookshank*⁹ reversed a lower court decision and ordered 12-year-old Arthur Wysinger admitted to Visalia’s regular school system.

School segregation emerged again in the twentieth century. The pattern, however, differed from that of the previous century. By 1910, schools staffed with White personnel were the general practice. Black teachers were barred as public school teachers, just as they were from most other non-menial occupations. School districts excluded trained Black professionals until the 1950s by requiring teachers to have at least one year’s experience in California under a regular appointment, an eligibility criterion that could not be met in a closed system.

Ironically, El Centro’s Elementary District, among the state’s most rigidly segregated systems, inadvertently made it possible in 1913 for a few teachers to circumvent the barriers to professional opportunity. El Centro followed the Southern segregation model, in which the staff and students were a racially homogeneous group. Consequently, only Black teachers could be assigned to teach Black students, and the assignments were regular teaching appointments. Given the obvious benefits of regular teaching appointments, the city’s elementary and high school districts attracted the state’s most talented teachers. Despite the inadequacies of facilities at the two Black schools, their curriculum and instructional staff were superior.¹⁰

Teachers who held regular appointments in El Centro achieved at least the formal requirements for employment in other districts in the state that had predominantly Black schools.

Holmes Avenue in Los Angeles was the first school in that city where Black teachers who had the requisite teaching experience could secure an appointment. Erected in 1910 adjacent to the Furlong Tract, a Black settlement established on a subdivided tract, it was the first school in Los

Angeles specifically built for a Black neighborhood. For many years, the staff at Holmes Avenue was totally White. When the district finally did hire Black staff members, most had received their training in El Centro.

The California Legislature not only disenfranchised its Black citizens, but also enacted a fugitive slave law that jeopardized the status of free persons of color. Evidence derived from various court cases, manumission records, pioneers' personal documents, and legislative proceedings show that conditions of servitude existed for many Black Californians between 1848 and 1863. The conditions prevailed despite a constitutional provision which stipulated that "neither slavery or involuntary servitude, unless for the punishment of a crime shall ever be tolerated in the State." Even though the constitution prohibited the peculiar institution, it should be noted that an 1852 law provided for seizure of any person alleged to be a fugitive brought to the state before its admission to the Union.¹¹ On proof to the satisfaction of a magistrate of the court, the accused could be removed from the state. Under no circumstances could testimony of the alleged fugitive be admitted as evidence.

Official records indicate that this law was used to veil the intent of persons unlawfully holding others in involuntary servitude. The experience of Biddy Mason and Stephen Spencer Hill are two cases in point.

Despite their political disenfranchisement, Black people contributed to the development of three California industries before World War II: mining, lumber, and agriculture. Black miners could be found throughout the mining frontier -- in the Mother Lode Country and in Southern California's gold mines. Historic place names in the gold region such as Negro Bar, Negro Flat, and Nigger Ravine are reminders of Black miners' presence and the racist behavior their presence evoked. Pejorative epithets such as these, commonly used in gold region place names, portray the hostile environment within which Black miners worked to secure their claims, protect their liberty, and guard against bodily harm. Without the right to testify against Whites, these miners had only their genius, brawn, and comrades to protect them from White miners' encroachments.

Individual Blacks, free and slave, worked alongside Whites, while others worked in company with fellow Black miners. Kentucky Ridge Mine, near Bidney Springs in Nevada County, operated for two years (1851 and 1852) by a large number of slaves, has acquired virtual legendary status. A colony of Black men and women settled along Deer Creek in 1851 to work the Kentucky Ridge Mine. These Afro-Americans came to Nevada County from Georgia as the slaves of Colonel William F. English. English reportedly was a Georgia planter who sold his plantation in 1850, then journeyed to Philadelphia, where he purchased a ship to transport machinery and workers to California to establish a mining enterprise.

Organized mining companies formed by Afro-Americans operated some profitable mining claims. A Black concern owned Horncut Mine, a prosperous quartz claim in Brown's Valley, the town near Marysville in Yuba County that became prominent for its rich surface diggings and extensive quartz mines. Another Black mining concern, the Rare Ripe Gold and Silver Mining Company, also located in Brown's Valley was, according to an article in the *San Francisco Elevator*, 1868, a "first class" company (a noteworthy comment, since quartz mining required heavy machinery, and few men had the investment capital to properly outfit that kind of mining operation).

Outside Stockton, San Joaquin County, Mose Rodgers, in company with other Black men, owned several successful mining companies. Rodgers' best-known mine, and one for which he was a stockholding superintendent, was the Washington Mine, established in 1869. In certain years, more than half a million dollars in gold was taken out of the Washington Mine. A mining tycoon and technical genius, Rodgers was constantly sought after for his knowledge of mining technology.

Gold was discovered in San Diego County in 1869 by a Black man, Frederick Coleman. Coleman made the discovery near Julian, in a creek that now bears his name. Thousands swarmed to the area as news of the discovery spread, radically changing the quiet settlement that had originally been established by Blacks and Indians. A town government was installed, and the place was renamed to commemorate the Julian brothers, Mike and Webb, former Confederate soldiers.

The ethnic character of the new town changed after the discovery of gold, but its Black population continued to increase. In fact, Julian continued to have the highest percentage of Black residents of any town in the county until 1900, and Black people continued to be represented in the commercial sector as the new town began to grow. Prominent among the entrepreneurs were Albert and Margaret Robinson, who operated a restaurant in the 1870s and later expanded it to include a hotel. The Robinson Hotel, operated under family management until 1921, is now the town's only hotel.

Black mill workers from the old South were a principal labor force in the wood products industry in at least three counties between 1920 and 1960. Experienced Black mill workers recruited directly from the South are known to have migrated to lumber towns in Plumas and Siskiyou counties in the 1920s, and in Placer County in the 1940s. Weed and Foresthill are two lumber towns that serve as examples of Afro-Americans' critical participation in the industry. McCloud and a number of other towns share a similar history. Further examination of this facet of the lumber industry could contribute a great deal toward an understanding of a significant pattern of labor history.

Black settlements were established in Quincy and Weed during the 1920s by Louisiana-based sawmill companies that purchased existing California mills and recruited experienced workers from communities adjacent to the parent company's home operation. Transportation costs were advanced, and housing was guaranteed for those willing to relocate.

In the 1920s, when Southern Black mill workers entered the California lumber industry's labor force, racial discrimination was flagrant throughout the industry. The employment structure limited Black men to non-supervisory positions. Although they were indispensable to the mills' operation, their compensation and status were never commensurate to their work. Their responsibilities ranged from highly skilled operations to the most dangerous, and some mills were manned by virtually all Black crews that performed all but supervisory functions. It was not until quite recently that Black men have been elevated to the position of foreman.

Americans who established farms in the San Joaquin and Imperial Valleys toward the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century recruited Southern Blacks, a plentiful source of cheap labor, to introduce their experimental crops. Consequently, Afro-Americans were among the earliest contract laborers recruited from outside the state to develop California agriculture.

Fresno County is one early example of the recruitment of Afro-American farm laborers. At the end of the nineteenth century, the agricultural industry in Fresno County began to shift from cultivation of cereals to deciduous fruits and grapes. This more labor-intensive production heightened the demand for field laborers. Formal labor recruitment was directed at Southern Black communities. Oral testimony taken from descendants of these pioneer toilers states that "a train load" of Black people from North Carolina reached Fresno County in 1888 under work contracts that obligated them for several years. Shortly thereafter, another immigrant group arrived by train from Canada. While the actual number of immigrants in these groups is not known, Fresno County's Black population did increase notably from 40 in 1880 to 485 by 1890, but did not increase substantially thereafter.

Until around 1905, the Imperial Valley was a vast, dreary desert region, part of the Colorado Desert. After 1905, growers began to transform it into an agricultural center with a great need for labor. Its name was changed to Imperial Valley, and a 70-mile canal was put through Mexican territory to water its fertile but arid terrain, making it attractive to settlers.

Cotton, experimentally introduced in Imperial County in about 1913, was a labor-intensive crop that required a large labor force. Growers recruited agricultural workers directly from the South and Mexico to work the fields. By the middle of the second decade, Black people had begun to relocate to the Imperial Valley. Many settled in El Centro where a number of notable Black institutions developed. On arrival in El Centro, Black people met racism not unlike that which characterized the communities from which they had emigrated. Their organized resistance to the Jim Crow system probably contributed to the group becoming less desirable as field workers than Mexican nationals.

Although Black people were among the first contract farm laborers, they never became a major work group in the agricultural industry. Direct Southern recruitment, obviously inimical to Southern planters' interests, encountered local resistance, especially after thousands of workers walked off the plantations during the 1870s to homestead land in the Kansas Territory.¹³ Furthermore, growers soon found that persons recruited during the 1880s and 1890s would not accept the status of field laborers when other occupational opportunities existed.

The nineteenth-century growers' recruitment efforts, aided by the African Episcopal Zion Church, attracted educated and skilled laborers from Southern cities. African Methodist Zion ministers began the colonization program in the 1880s to expand African Methodist Zionism in California. Hundreds of emigrants assembled in North Carolina cities for transportation to California. However, many emigrants considered contract labor to be a means to relocate and become established, and sought to become entrepreneurs, skilled workers, and yeoman farmers when their contracts terminated.

California growers, who had long resisted the Afro-Americans' efforts to achieve a competitive edge, found Black workers unsuitable, and turned their attention to a foreign labor source. Other non-White foreign workers could be recruited in a less competitive labor market, and growers resolved to use them.

Land-based economic development in agricultural settlements was promoted at various times after the turn of the century in Yolo, San Bernardino, Tulare, and Fresno counties. The Yolo County settlement in 1900 was perhaps the first group attempt to build an agricultural base on home-

steaded land. Settlement by Blacks could not have occurred earlier, since California's homestead laws had previously required a homesteader to be a White citizen.

In California, like other regions, Black homesteaders had to settle for the least desirable land. The land Black families successfully homesteaded overlooking the town of Guinda in Yolo County had earlier been given over to bandits. High above the valley, at a considerable distance from the county seat and transportation points, the area was remote and relatively inaccessible.

For years, maps showed the settlement as Nigger Hill, the pejorative place name used by locals. The nomenclature reflected local racial conditions. Despite social and environmental adversities, Black ranchers moved in from Northern California and the Bay Area, and raised cattle and experimented with orchards and other agricultural products. On what was once the main road leading to the summit stands a sandstone boulder, "Owl Rock," on which residents over the years have etched their names. Owl Rock represents the last physical evidence of the early settlement.

At least two different efforts at colonization occurred in San Bernardino County between 1900 and 1910. The Forum, a Los Angeles civic club organized in 1903, solicited families to homestead government land in the Sidewinder Valley, desert land near Victorville. The first homesteader took up 640 acres at a site where ground water could be easily lifted, but water, although critical to subsequent development, was never available in ample supply. Little is known about the actual number of families who relocated to Sidewinder Valley during the Forum's promotional effort. However, in a newspaper account in 1914, the Forum reported that more than 20,000 acres had been homesteaded by Blacks. Lucerne, an adjacent town situated in the arid Sidewinder Valley, has been singled out by pioneers in Sidewinder Valley as an originally Black settlement.

Another highly publicized colonization effort in San Bernardino County occurred in 1904.¹⁴ The African Society, a group based in the town of San Bernardino and capitalized at \$10,000, according to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, had been created to colonize the Southern California area.

The Tulare County agricultural settlement was the town of Allensworth. Established in 1908 by a group of promoters, Allensworth was more than an agricultural settlement. It was designed to be a self-governed Black town. The promoters attracted more than 200 settlers to the town in the first few years. For nearly a decade, Allensworth's pioneers struggled to create a viable town in the arid San Joaquin Valley. Artesian water, initially abundant, soon stopped flowing at the volume required to meet domestic and agricultural demand. Although various plans were implemented to acquire adequate water, this town, like other agricultural settlements, became another dream deferred.

Black people engaged in the full range of contemporary businesses for at least three decades after statehood. Interest in business pursuits attracted many early Black immigrants to settle in towns where they could provide goods and services for the swarms of people who came during the Gold Rush years. San Francisco, in the nineteenth century, was the city where most Black business activities were centered.

Black entrepreneurs, like their contemporaries, entered businesses they believed the White majority would patronize. As long as the popu-



Allensworth women, Tulare County [circa 1920]

lation was growing, and need for goods and services exceeded supply, Black entrepreneurs could enter most business areas with relatively little difficulty. Toward the close of the century, however, Black entrepreneurs found their business pursuits restricted to a narrow range of services as Whites, emigrating from mining districts and other jurisdictions and seeking a competitive edge, began a campaign to intensify the prevailing racial prejudice. Before long, the few areas where a Black entrepreneur could reasonably expect sufficient White patronage to develop a prosperous concern were limited to service-related enterprises such as tonsorial, boot-black, livery, restaurant/catering, and drayage businesses.

Institutionalized racism began to emerge in the latter decade of the nineteenth century, and by 1920, even displaced Black barbers from the prosperous luxury shops operated for White businessmen in choice downtown locations. For more than 50 years prior to that, Black men enjoyed a near monopoly on this trade.

Residences owned by these nineteenth-century settlers stood on lots along city blocks in the downtown districts where they worked. Frequently, though, they clustered three or four families in a city block, often in certain wards or districts. This scattered residential pattern began to change as institutional racism began to encroach further upon California Black life.

Restrictive city ordinances, real estate covenants, and other racially discriminatory measures that came into practice at the turn of the century and continued in effect for more than six decades, dramatically limited access by Black people to local resources such as housing, employment, education, and public accommodations. Housing restrictions gradually limited the size of Black residential areas and thereby created overcrowded neighborhoods and depressed economic growth. Real estate interests refused to make mortgage money available for property in certain "red-lined" areas and thus turned many Black neighborhoods, especially those with older housing, into slums. Urban renewal programs during the 1960s targeted ethnic neighborhoods in downtown districts, wiping out most nineteenth-century neighborhoods in or near downtown business districts. Around the periphery of various cities' business districts, an occasional structure representing these early neighborhoods survives.

Nineteenth-century commercial structures were more likely to survive the 1960s urban renewal blitz than were residential properties.

This was particularly true in the Gold Rush districts where Black settlement antedated the period of racially restrictive land use patterns. As a rule, nineteenth-century Black-owned businesses were scattered throughout downtown business districts. One Northern California town where several nineteenth- and early twentieth-century commercial properties have been identified in the original business district is Red Bluff in Tehama County. San Diego, in the southern region, also has nineteenth-century business properties in the original downtown business district, known historically as the Horton Addition.

Black business districts were developed after the turn of the century to provide services for Black communities in cities like Oakland and Los Angeles where populations were substantial and growing. These businesses soon found their economic opportunities constricted by the same city ordinances and covenants that precipitated residential neighborhood deterioration. Business development trends in Los Angeles during the first decades of the twentieth century were not only a microcosm of the racial discrimination practices that emerged in California after the turn of the century, but also reflected the evolution of Black businesses created to serve neighborhood clienteles.

Black businesses established after the turn of the century were initially located in downtown Los Angeles near the original Black settlement. As industry began to encroach on the old settlement, businesses and residents were forced to move further south. Central Avenue then became the major Black business section. In 1929, when Dr. J. A. Summerville built the town's first major Black hotel, Hotel Summerville (now known as the Dunbar), the central business district coalesced around the hotel. The A. J. Roberts Funeral Home was among the first businesses established during



Grace Apartments, Los Angeles County

this era. Andrew J. Roberts, who for years had operated a successful drayage concern, Los Angeles Van, Truck and Storage Company, sold the business sometime after 1905 to establish a mortuary. When the establishment opened, it was the town's first Black mortuary. The Roberts Funeral Home conducted an apprenticeship program to train persons for the profession, and also provided technical services to other mortuaries. At one period, the staff performed most embalming services for Los Angeles's Japanese morticians.

Insurance companies, with few exceptions, denied Black people insurance coverage. Those companies that did write policies for Blacks did so at discriminatory premium rates. Golden State Guarantee Fund Insurance Company of Los Angeles, a company expressly created to provide life insurance coverage for Black people, received its charter July 23, 1925. Entering a non-competitive market, the company soon established branch offices in various California cities and even in other states.

Responding to the Black community's need for quality medical care, three Black doctors established the Dunbar Hospital in 1923. Shortly thereafter, two other medical facilities were opened. Two pharmacists affiliated with the Dunbar Hospital opened the first pharmacy in the state owned and operated by Black women. White institutions at that time denied Black patients full medical service and equal accommodations, and barred Black doctors from affiliation.

Private medical offices began to appear in the 1920s. The earliest was opened jointly by a medical doctor and a dentist in the Hudson-Ledell Building, designed by Paul Williams. The use pattern of this building reflects the economic changes that occurred over a 40-year period in the Central Avenue business district. Professional offices were located in the building until World War II. During World War II, Central Avenue became a major entertainment hub, and a nightclub known as the Club Memo occupied the building. When the Club Memo closed, the Hudson-Ledell Building was again converted to professional offices. Since 1963, the building has been the field office for Los Angeles City Councilman Gilbert Lindsay. The area is now undergoing revitalization.

A major break in the pervasive occupational racism that restricted workers, both educated and uneducated, to low-paying menial jobs came through the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The brotherhood was created August 25, 1925, as a union for Pullman porters and maids. It was the first Afro-American labor organization to receive a charter in the American Federation of Labor. The union was an advocate for Black men and women employed by the Pullman Company.

Voluntary associations have traditionally welcomed and provided assistance to individuals and groups newly arrived in a strange city. However, Black migrants coming to California's cities after 1920 found conventional social service organizations like the Red Cross, Salvation Army, YMCA, and YWCA closed to them. Housing and employment assistance, as well as care for the orphaned and infirm, which these facilities provided (usually at no cost), had to be financed directly by the Black community. Black club women were prime movers in filling the void.

The California Association of Colored Women's Clubs was formed in 1905 as an affiliate of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs. At its inception, the association recognized the need for social services and encouraged local efforts to meet that need. Homes for Black working girls and women was one program that received statewide support. Clubs throughout California purchased residential structures and es-

tablished homes with wholesome surroundings for women and girls who worked in cities where there were no suitable public accommodations. Houses to serve this purpose still exist in Sacramento, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

Homes for orphaned children and child care services for working mothers were other social services provided in the community. A number of facilities offering these services were created by various providers. The East Bay club women became affiliated with the Northern Section of California Association of Colored Women's Clubs through a consolidated effort on April 30, 1918, and established the Fannie Wall Children's Home and Day Nursery. At the Oakland home, a staff of professional women administered resident care for orphans and day care for children of working mothers. Care for adolescent orphans was provided through private training schools where orphans could earn their fees through regular on-the-job training. The Duval School, organized in Beulah Heights (Oakland) in 1914, is but one private institution that accepted adolescent orphan girls and trained them for domestic work.

Aged Black people were also provided responsible care in a congenial environment. The Home for the Aged and Infirm Colored People, built in 1897 in Oakland, was the first such institution in the state. Black club women originated the idea and formed the Old Peoples Home Association in 1892 to develop a facility. Within five years, the association had approximately 100 members and a three-story home, which in 1897 cost \$4,000. Several founders served on the Board of Directors until the home was closed in 1938. The Black Southern California Baptist Church opened a similar facility in Los Angeles in 1919. The Southern California homes were the Abilia Home for the Aged and the Linden Home for the Aged. Another facility for aged Black people, the Dunigan, was a private rest home founded in Ontario in San Bernardino County. A number of additional private rest homes were created as the need arose.

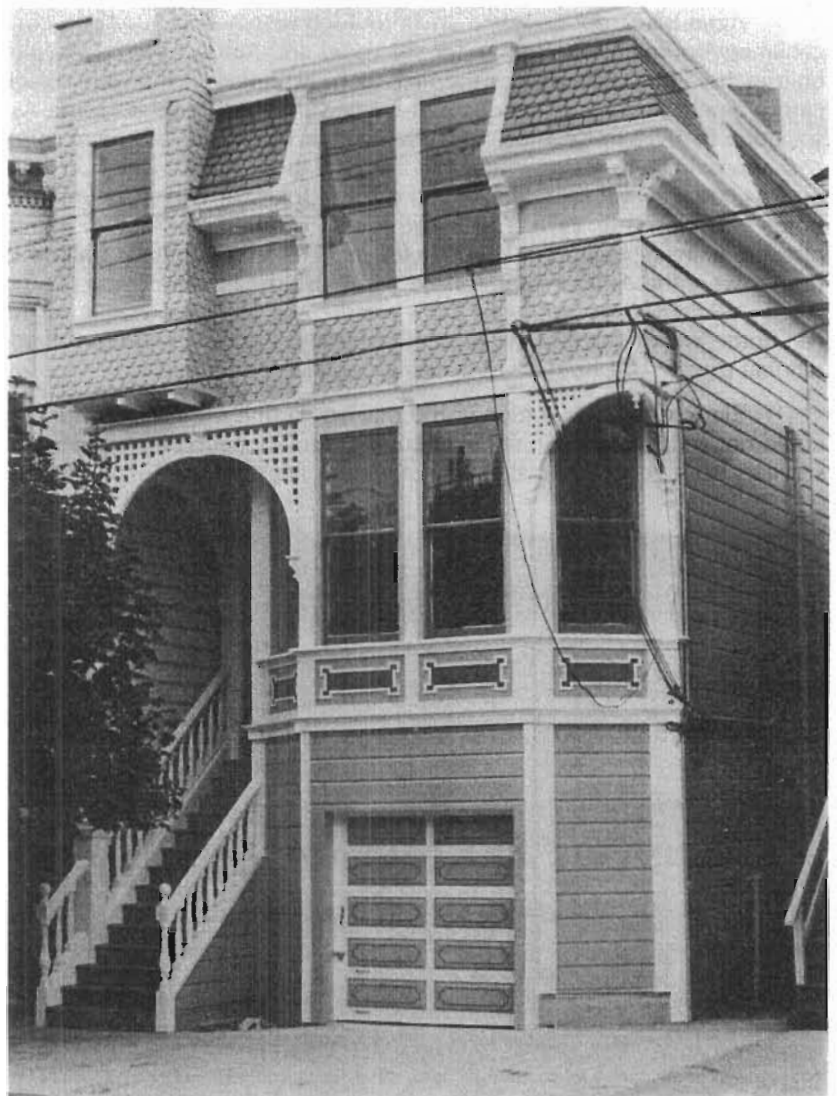
Black men and women in the military during the First World War could not get assistance in finding housing, employment, or other needed services from general social service agencies like the Red Cross, YMCA,



Negro Womens' Civic Improvement Club, Sacramento County

and YWCA. Even the military, then a segregated service, offered little assistance to its Black members and their families. The Booker T. Washington Community Services Center, Inc. was established in 1919 by Black club women in San Francisco who were concerned about the lack of social services made available to Black military personnel and their families. These women raised funds to establish and operate the Booker T. Washington Center. After World War I, when the need that created the center had passed, its board of directors changed the function. Since then, it has offered a broad range of services for both youth and adults in the Western Addition area of San Francisco.

These social processes produced individuals whose attainments would have made them national figures except for their color. Foremost among this group was James P. Beckwourth, a shrewd and enterprising explorer, fur trader, and speculator. Beckwourth contributed much that has not been appropriately recognized to the history of the West. Yet this



Frazier/Toombs House, San Francisco County

Black man's White contemporaries, like Kit Carson and Jim Bridger, have been so widely acclaimed that they are now legendary figures.

Other notable individuals include Edward P. Duplex, who was elected mayor of Wheatland in Yuba County in 1888; John Scott, a member of John Fremont's second western expedition; J. Goodman Bray, manager of tourmaline mines in Mesa Grande and founder of the tourmaline mining industry of San Diego County; Biddy Mason, a slave emancipated in Los Angeles by a United States District Court of Appeals judge, who became a wealthy philanthropist; and Mary Ellen (Mammy) Pleasant, perhaps now the most widely recognized among the early notables.

A prosperous and influential San Francisco businesswoman, Pleasant supported, and at times helped finance, the fight to end slavery and to gain citizenship in the free states. This struggle, in its various phases, engaged Black Americans throughout the nineteenth century. Pleasant was associated with both the citizenship movement in California and abolition activities in the eastern United States.

Structures designed by architects and builders also express the Afro-American presence in California. During the nineteenth century, it was commonplace for a master carpenter or brickmason to both design and construct buildings, a practice which continued into the twentieth century. These early builder-architects created much of the environment that now represents the state's architectural history. Included in this group were Black men. However, Black builder-architects, like their White contemporaries, have remained virtually anonymous, save for recollections and eyewitness accounts recorded in people's memories.

Amos Brown (1900-1965) and Paul R. Williams (1897-1980) were important professional Black architects. Brown, of the San Francisco Bay Area, designed residential structures, while Williams, a prominent Los Angeles architect, received considerable acclaim for both commercial and residential structures. In the 1920s, as a young architect, Williams received a number of commissions from the Black business community to build commercial structures. Several of these buildings have been listed as historic resources, albeit for their historical rather than their architectural merit. Architecturally distinctive designs created by this architect have been recognized through peer review. The Music Corporation of America building in Beverly Hills won the American Institute of Architects Gold Medal Award in 1960 for the most outstanding building in Southern California.

Numerous professional builders, both master carpenters and brickmasons, gained reputations constructing residential properties. John Barber, John Coleman, Lemuel Grant, and Robert Booker were known to have constructed commercial buildings as well.

Only two of the commercial buildings associated with these men are extant. One is Redding's Lorenz Hotel (1904), and the other is the old administration building at Fresno City College (1915). Booker's Black contemporaries credit him with the Lorenz building's construction, although no documents have been found to corroborate this testimony. Black people, witnesses to construction of the old administration building, say that the Grant brothers (Los Angeles-based Black brickmasons) were retained to complete the detailed masonry around the building's windows and archways. Their White contemporaries, however, dispute the validity of this claim. For neither building have any documents been located to verify the builder's name.

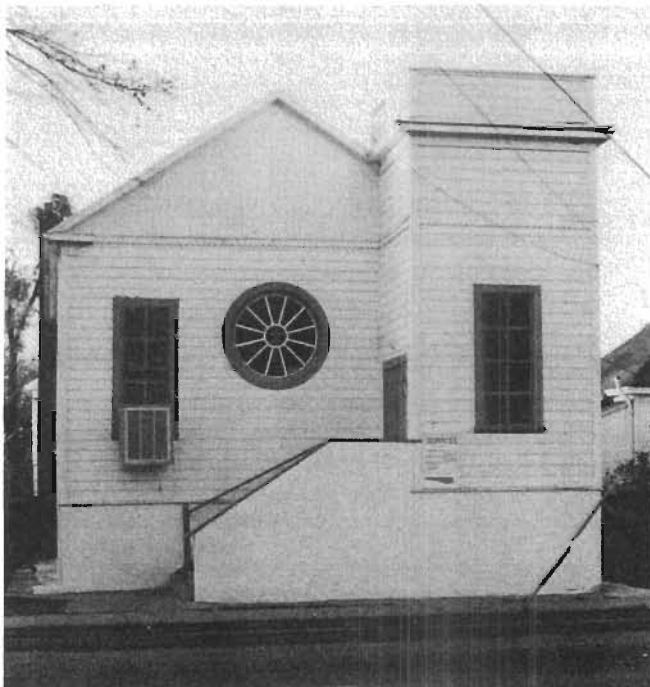
In this study, Black life has been examined from several perspectives: work experience, social organization, political status, and economic development. But these processes, like the social and political constraints on them, have been given only cursory consideration. Enough, however, has been done to unequivocally demonstrate the breadth in time and geographical space of the Afro-American experience and the availability of both archival and oral history resources for further study. Further research should be done in a timely manner, since the most valuable resource for this type study, the living memories, are not timeless. Without the benefit of elderly Blacks' recollections and eyewitness accounts, many dimensions of the Afro-American contribution to California will never be known.



Boyers House, Santa Clara County

Footnotes

1. *California Journals of the Senate and Assembly*, 3rd Session, 1852, 75.
2. *California Political Code*, Section 1669, 1872, provided for the education of Black and Indian children.
3. Homestead Act, *California Statutes*, 1860, 87.
4. *California Constitution*, 1849, Article II, Section 1.
5. W.E.B. DuBois, "Of the Faith of Fathers," in *The Souls of Black Folk*, 1903.
6. *Proceedings of the First State Convention of the Colored Citizens of the State of California*, Sacramento, 1855, 3.
7. *Ibid.*, 23.
8. The 1852 legislation provided for common public schools to be financed from state funds and directed by a board of trustees.
9. *Wysinger v. Crookshank*, 82 Cal 588, 720 (1890).
10. El Centro desegregated in 1954 following the *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* decision.
11. *California Statutes*, Chapter XXXIII, 1852, 67-69.
12. *San Francisco Elevator*, April 10, 1863.
13. This massive emigration, known as the Great Exodus, had been directed by a group of Black men. For years, they had led people to Kansas; however, in 1879 the program accelerated, and thousands more came to Kansas from the South.
14. *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 11, 1904.



Second Baptist Church, San Joaquin County

SITES



Booker T. Washington Community Service Center

San Francisco

The Booker T. Washington Community Service Center in the city of San Francisco is a 14,000-square-foot building with a gymnasium, offices, and club rooms on the first floor. On the second level is a club room, a kitchen, and a lounge with a fireplace. The southeastern side of the building has a 90-x-90-foot play area and a parking lot.

The Booker T. Washington Community Service Center, Inc. was established in 1919 in San Francisco by Black women who were concerned about the virtual absence of social services available to Black military personnel and their families. These women raised the funds to establish and operate the center's first home in a basement on Geary Street. Their support continued over the years while the center moved to Bush Street, and more recently to its present permanent home on Presidio Avenue. Mrs. Emma Scott Jones, a daughter of one of the center's charter members, is still active on its Board of Directors.

After the immediate postwar needs has passed, the Booker T. Washington Community Service Center's Board of Directors changed the center's function. They responded to the community's needs by offering a broad range of services to both youths and adults in the Western Addition area of San Francisco.

Colored School

Watsonville, Santa Cruz County

The Colored School in Watsonville, Santa Cruz County, was located in a small, unassuming cottage set back from the street on a deep lot. The exterior does not seem to have been altered, and it has the original clapboard siding.

This small building was the Pajaro Valley School District's response to Robert Johnson, a Black farmer from Tennessee who asked to have his children admitted to the public school. Rather than permitting Black children to attend the same school as their White peers, the district in 1864 hired a woman to teach Blacks in her home. Again, in 1866, Johnson requested that his children be admitted to the public school on the "grounds he was taxed for the support of the school and, under the provision of the Civil Rights Bill his children were entitled to the benefits of the School." (*Pajaro Times*, September 15, 1866) In response, the school trustees raised money to build "A Colored School." Johnson contributed the site for the school; however, certain conditions were stipulated to ensure continued use of the land for non-segregated education purposes. On October 29, 1866, Robert Johnson conveyed title to the property on East Lake Street to the Pajaro Valley School District, with the following stipulations: the land, he stated, was "to be used for a schoolhouse to which children shall be admitted irrespective of color for the purpose of education, who shall have arrived at legal school age, and demean themselves accordingly to the rules and customs of common school . . . and should this school not be maintained for any year in time of peace, then this instrument shall be void and the land and promises herein described shall revert to said party of the first part, his heirs, executor, administrator and assigns." (recorded November 5, 1866, *Deed Book 8*) By 1878, the Black community had moved to end the separate-but-equal education policy, but the trustees denied their petition. Blacks then boycotted the "Colored School." In retaliation, the trustees closed the school, and Johnson filed suit to bring a test case to court. In July 1879, the trustees agreed to abolish the traditional policy of separate-but-equal education, a decision possibly prompted by the fact that the site of the closed school would revert to Johnson as stipulated by the deed.



Today, the small 1866 Colored School still stands on the Johnson lot, but the property no longer serves its intended use. The building is now a private home.

Phoenixonian Institute Site

San Jose, Santa Clara County

The Phoenixonian Institute, a residential secondary school, was organized in San Jose in 1861. For more than a decade, this school operated at several different sites in the city. At the time Reverend Peter William Cassey founded Phoenixonian, there was no other California institution where a Black person could receive secondary training. For that matter, only a few secondary schools had been established to prepare White students. California's constitution, until 1875, forbade Black students to attend regular state-supported public schools. After 1865, the constitution did provide for a separate system that could be established with common school funds at the discretion of local school districts. In districts where school trustees did not vote to establish a separate "colored school," Black children could not attain a basic education unless they attended a private institution.

Given the educational conditions that prevailed, it is no surprise that Phoenixonian received statewide support from Black people. Prestige and financial backing were given the school through Rev. Cassey's organization of a Convention of Colored Citizens of California which had its initial meeting in San Jose December 11, 1863. Further support for the institute was garnered when the Third Statewide Convention of Colored Citizens of California (1865) passed a resolution to tax each Black person in the state one dollar to support the school.

Support through school registration came from Black families in many cities throughout California and as far away as Portland, Oregon. Male and female students were accepted. Board and tuition per term of four weeks cost \$16 to \$20 in 1867. All English curricula and vocal music were taught without extra charge, while music classes with the use of instruments such as piano or melodian required an extra \$6 fee per month.

Common school funds provided another means of school income. The local school board entered into an agreement with Rev. Cassey and gave the institute a concession to matriculate Black students who applied for admission to the regular public school system. However, in 1874, the annual appropriation (which then was \$125) was discontinued because the San Jose Board of Education decided to open a "colored school."

While administering the Phoenixonian Institute, Rev. Cassey also labored to establish a Christ Episcopal Church for Black people in San Jose. Although this missionary effort received no financial support from either the California or Eastern churches, Cassey's St. Phillip's Mission struggled along desperately for two decades. Given the history of Cassey's involvement with these two institutions, it is no surprise that their resources were at times mingled. For example, the mission in 1869-70 used the hall owned by the institute for its Sabbath services.

Little is known about Peter Cassey's personal life. He was born in 1831 in Philadelphia, son of Joseph Cassey, a noted abolitionist and anti-colonizationist. While well educated in his youth, Cassey as a young man learned the barber trade. This trade proved lucrative in San Francisco when he arrived in 1853. Cassey and Charles H. Mercier are listed in an 1859 San Francisco Directory as partners in a shaving saloon in the basement of the Union Hotel at 642 Merchant Street.

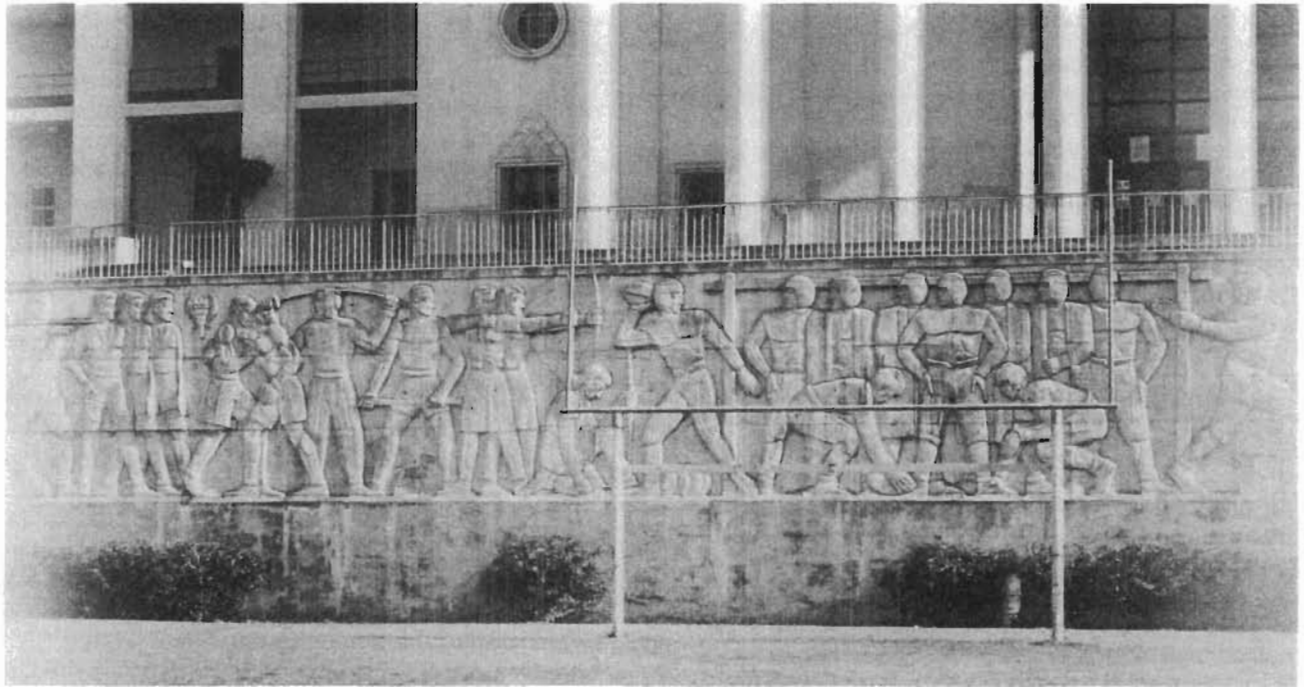
While engaged as a barber in San Francisco, Cassey became acquainted with other politically active Blacks who were involved in the network of the Executive Committee of the Convention of Colored Citizens. The support and astute leadership of these men helped in the organization and administration of the Phoenixonian Institute of San Jose. In fact, the year before the school opened, some of these men came together at Bethel A.M.E. in San Francisco and created the Livingstone Institute. This first attempt to establish a secondary school for Black people in the West ended in 1863 when the trustees decided to return the stockholders' money, stating that conditions had so changed that the need for the institute no longer existed. The Livingstone Institute creators, unlike those of the Phoenixonian, never formally established a school. Therefore, the Phoenixonian Institute was the first Black secondary school in the western United States.

"Athletics"

San Francisco

This 12-foot-high, 185-foot-wide cast-stone frieze is located on the football field of George Washington High School, San Francisco.

The incised relief frieze, entitled "Athletics," was created by Sargent Johnson under the WPA Federal Arts Project. The frieze covers the retaining wall on the George Washington High School football field. The work was cast in 6-x-14-foot sections. Oversized representational male and female figures engaged in athletic games of various types are portrayed in this monumental work.



"Athletics" mural at George Washington High School, San Francisco

Johnson, a Black sculptor, achieved international recognition. His versatility extended to porcelain, terra cotta, bronze, wood, and cast stone, although he is best known for his ceramic polychrome sculpture. Born in 1888 in Boston, Johnson lived for a time in this state where he attended the California School of Fine Art and studied in San Francisco under Beniamino Bufano.

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters Headquarters Site

Oakland, Alameda County

The parking lot of the U.S. Post Office at 517 Wood Street was the location of the headquarters of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

This was the brotherhood's first West Coast headquarters. The Pullman porters labor union was organized by A. Phillip Randolph, its first President, and C. L. Dellums, Vice President. Dellums, also the union's Pacific Coast Supervisor, maintained an office at this site. The brotherhood was created August 25, 1925 as a union for Pullman porters and maids, and was the first Afro-American labor organization to receive a charter in the American Federation of Labor. The union functioned as an advocate for Black men and women employed by the Pullman Company on its sleeping cars leased to

and operated by various railroad companies throughout the United States.

As part of the first campaign, the brotherhood demanded improved wages and better working conditions. On September 7, 1927, the brotherhood filed a case with the Interstate Commerce Commission, requesting an investigation of Pullman rates, porters' wages, tipping practices, and other matters related to wages and working conditions. From its inception, the union maintained a West Coast office in Oakland, under supervision of its vice president. Through the union's concerted efforts during the early years, Afro-Americans acquired control of Pullman porters' and dining car workers' positions throughout the railroad system. These positions (until the 1960s, when civil rights legislation set aside some long-standing discriminatory employment practices) were among the best available to Black male blue-collar workers.

Lower Presidio Hill

Presidio of Monterey, Monterey County

Alex Nino, a free single man, was reportedly the first Black to be buried in Alta California under Spanish rule. He was buried in an unmarked grave at the Presidio of Monterey, somewhere on lower Presidio Hill at the approximate site of Father Junipero Serra's first mass. Presidio Hill is located on a grassy knoll

above Monterey Bay, and was the early site of El Castillo, a Spanish fortification.

Nino's death, recorded by Father Serra in the beginning of the *First Book of Deaths, Partida No. 1*, occurred June 2, 1770, "aboard a packet-boat of His Majesty, the San Antonio, alias 'El Principe' when at the shore of this port" (San Carlos de Monterey). Nino, a boat caulker, received the Holy Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction before being buried June 3 on a hill overlooking Monterey Bay. The unmarked grave is in the vicinity of Father Serra's monument.

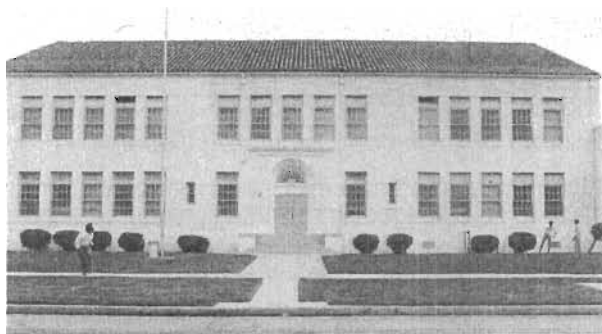
Fifty-First Street/ Holmes Avenue School

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County

The original elementary school, constructed around 1910 for \$8,720, was a one-story, wood-frame, four-room building with two brick posts that fronted on 51st Street. After a fire, circa 1922, a wood-frame replacement structure was built at the same location but fronting on Holmes Avenue. This building suffered damage during a 1933 earthquake and was remodeled. The present expanded stucco structure is partitioned into four sections. It has a two-story front and a three-story rear section with bungalows along two sides.

A large playground area in the rear of the school has a mural wall to separate the school from the adjacent industrial neighborhood. Bordering the front of the building are several cropped bushes and a neatly manicured lawn.

The Holmes Avenue School served a Black community established in 1905 in a subdivision known as the Furlong Tract. Living in single-family homes, the community supported its own business district. When the public elementary school opened in 1910, it was the first such institution in the Los Angeles school system built in a Black community to accommodate neighborhood students.



Four White teachers and a White principal were assigned to the school when it opened. The first Afro-American teacher, Mrs. Bessie Burington Burke, was not hired until 1911. Mrs. Burke graduated from Polytechnic High School and attended State Normal School, which later became part of the University of California at Los Angeles. Her first teaching appointment was at Holmes Avenue. Mrs. Burke was not only the school's first Afro-American teacher, but later she became the school's principal, the first Black principal in the district's regular school program. According to oral sources, a Black man, Professor Eason, did receive an earlier appointment, although as a night school principal.

Segregation practices of the period were reflected in the assignment of teachers. Before 1950, those few Black teachers who were permitted to work in the Los Angeles school system were assigned to schools that had large Afro-American student bodies. If an Afro-American wanted to work, he or she had to ask for the South Area (also known as Area A or B), where most of the predominantly Black schools were located. Other areas (such as the West Area) were off limits. A few token representatives who could "pass" as White were allowed to teach outside the South Area. Eventually, the Los Angeles School District was desegregated, and the teaching staff at Holmes Avenue became predominantly Black. This change came long after the school had developed a reputation as a training or experimental ground for new teachers in Los Angeles.

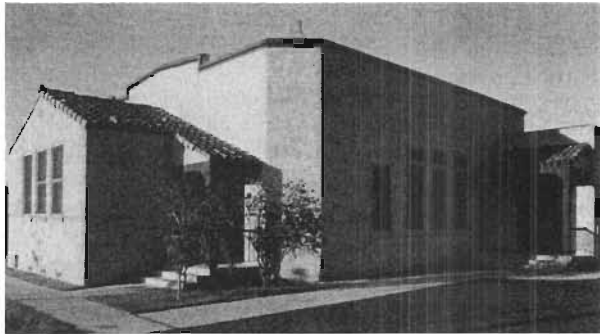
Douglass High School

El Centro, Imperial County

Douglass High School is a one-story stucco structure, moved in 1959 to its present location. It has recently been restored, and both the building and site are in excellent condition.

California's Black population increased in the first decades of the twentieth century, as did discrimination against people of color. Discrimination was especially intense where public accommodations, employment, education, and housing were concerned. A pattern consistent with the nation's policies on institutional racism emerged in Imperial County with introduction of non-White laborers recruited into the valley from the southern United States and Mexico to build the embryonic cotton industry.

The El Centro Elementary School District instituted formal school segregation with the 1913-1914 school year, an act precipitated by the first wave of Black



labor immigration. In 1913, when Black parents first applied for admission of their children to the El Centro Elementary School District, the superintendent created a separate school, allegedly because of overcrowding at the existing sites. Black parents therefore registered early the following year only to have their children again assigned to the separate school. Intent on abolishing this new system of segregation, Black parents immediately organized the El Centro Parents Association and retained a Los Angeles attorney to represent them.

Segregation, however, was not soon abolished; instead, it became institutionalized and continued for nearly a half century. In 1923, for example, Professor William Payne, principal of the all-Black Dunbar Elementary School, went to El Centro High School to register his eldest daughter, Octavia. Admission was denied. A high school education was simply unavailable to Blacks in this valley town. Ultimately, on August 20, 1925, the High School District voted to pay the El Centro City School District \$1,831.16 for use of buildings and grounds on the Eastside Elementary School site. The lease was to run for 20 years, beginning March 1, 1926. The arrangement allowed Professor Payne, the school's principal, who held both high school and junior college teaching credentials, to extend instruction through the twelfth grade. This policy lasted one year. In 1927, the Central Union High School District Board voted to organize a separate secondary school.

On December 11, 1929, the Central Union High School District approved a \$15,334.69 expenditure for architectural plans, construction, and outfitting of a high school building for Black secondary students. Located in the segregated Eastside, the Black neighborhood, the new school was fittingly called Eastside High School. A few years later, Eastside residents successfully petitioned the Board of Trustees to rename the school Douglass High School. On September 9, 1936, the Board granted

the request. Fifteen years elapsed before authorization was finally given to change the inscription on the building.

Douglass High School, under Professor William Payne's principalship, offered both high school and junior college curricula. However, the school could not officially grant either degree. Central Union High School issued high school diplomas, and Imperial Valley Junior College conveyed the Associate of Arts degrees.

Instructors at both the elementary and high school were remembered as being extraordinary teachers. Many talented young Black teachers applied to the district, since it was one of the few systems where a Black teacher could secure a regular teaching appointment. Common practice among districts throughout the state was to require Black teachers to have at least one year of experience as a regular teacher in a California district before a permanent appointment could be considered. This requisite experience could be gained in few places outside the Imperial Valley. El Centro's segregated district ironically aided a few teachers who penetrated the color barrier after teaching for one year or more at either Dunbar or Douglass school.

Douglass High School was closed in 1954, following the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* school desegregation decision. After the school's closing, the trustees sold the building to the El Centro School District because at the time, the elementary district's needs warranted the purchase. Soon, however, it was once again a surplus building, and the El Centro School District voted to sell the structure and have it removed from the site by August 1, 1958. The Mason's Eureka Lodge #28, El Centro, bid \$1,000 for purchase of the Douglass Auditorium. The Masons placed the highest bid and subsequently received title to the building. Restoration of the building's exterior has been completed while the interior has been maintained but not rehabilitated. It is well preserved, and now serves as the Masonic Hall in El Centro.

Gabriel Moore Ranch

Centerville, Fresno County

A Black man, Gabriel Moore, believed to be one of the first settlers to take water out of the Kings River for irrigation, arrived in Centerville, Fresno County, in 1853. Centerville was then a prosperous settlement and remained so until the advent of the railroad in the Central Valley. A native of Alabama, Moore came to the upper Kings River with the Akers Wagon Train. Within four years of his arrival,

Moore, who appears on the 1857 tax rolls, had become a rancher of importance in the Kings River area.

His 40-to-50-acre ranch was located along the Kings River bottom, a long narrow agricultural belt that came under cultivation during the last half of the nineteenth century. Like other prosperous ranchers, Moore had cattle. White southern neighbors drove herd for him, although he also hired Black men. Two Black laborers, Frank Hinds and John Wiley, were listed in the 1880 census as Moore's boarders.

Moore's ownership of property and his status as a registered voter suggest that a Black man enjoyed full citizenship in Fresno County during the latter half of the nineteenth century, with equal access to the valley's resources. On the contrary, however, statements made by the County Court in the disposition of an estate belonging to one of Moore's neighbors is clear evidence of the discrimination that permeated the valley. John Baker, a Black man, died in 1879, leaving five orphaned children; the eldest was 16 years of age. Rather than holding the estate for the heir, the probate judge liquidated Baker's property, stating as his reasons: "it appearing to the satisfaction of this court that the said property in its present condition is of no available use to the said family under their present circumstances, they being of inferior race of mixed blood."

Moore's name also disappeared from the county property maps within 11 years after his death, even though he was survived by a wife, a son, and five adopted children.

This area has since been subdivided.

City Hotel Site

San Francisco

The City Hotel in San Francisco originally appeared as a long, one-story adobe building with a veranda running along the entire front side bordering Kearny Street. Today, Portsmouth Square, a city park, stands on the site of the original City Hotel. Chinatown, North Beach, and the Financial District surround this historic area. Dotting the skyline around the site are many examples of San Francisco's modern concrete skyscrapers, interspersed with its ethnic architecture.

William Alexander Leidesdorff (1810-1848), a Black man native to the Virgin Islands and one of San Francisco's most prominent citizens, owned the City Hotel. Despite his untimely death, Leidesdorff attained great prominence and wealth during the seven years he resided in San Francisco. During this period, he served as United States Vice Consul at San Francisco under Mexican rule, and as San

Francisco's City Treasurer, councilman, and member of the school committee. Shortly after arriving in 1841, Leidesdorff built a warehouse on the waterfront at California and Leidesdorff Streets; in 1847, he acquired and sailed the first steamer in San Francisco Bay.

The City Hotel, erected in 1846 on the corner of Clay and Kearny Streets, was San Francisco's first public hotel of any note. Established in what was then the village Yerba Buena, this building became a gaming facility and a famous place of resort for miners and other city visitors. It continued to hold a dominant spot in village life until 1849. By the time of Leidesdorff's death in 1848, newer and more handsome buildings were being erected and opened as hotels. The City Hotel became neglected and deserted. The fire of 1851 reduced it to ashes.



Douglass Hotel

San Diego, San Diego County

The Douglass Hotel is a two-story, square, brick building in the city of San Diego. The front facade is plaster over masonry. Over the double front doors is a neon marquee that still reads "The Douglas."

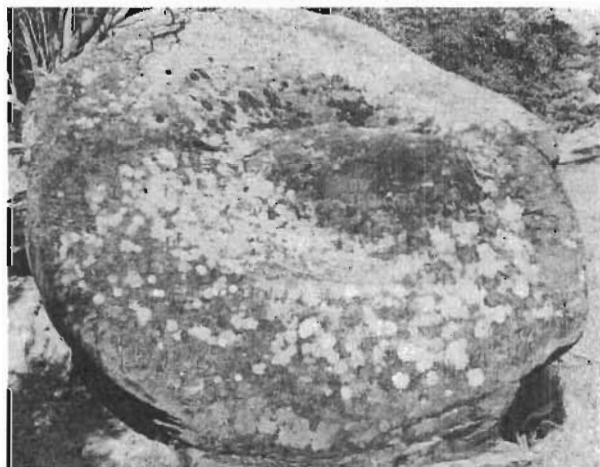
The Douglass Hotel opened in mid-winter 1924 under ownership of Robert and Mabel Rowe and George Ramsey. Lodging accommodations in San Diego during the early twentieth century were not available to Black people except in Black establishments. The social consciousness of this period is reflected in the name given the hostelry. The proprietors reached into the annals of history and selected the name Frederick Douglass, an internationally recognized political leader. Douglass, born a bondsman, purchased his own freedom, secured an education, and became a renowned abolitionist writer and orator.

The Rows for years successfully operated Ideal Rooms, a large Victorian lodging house at the corner of Market and Second. Around 1923, that structure

was razed to make room for a two-story brick building. The Douglass Hotel had 45 sleeping rooms, a bar, a restaurant, and a 500-person-capacity ballroom. It was the ballroom, operated as a cabaret, that made this establishment notable.

The cabaret, known as the Creole Palace, was quite fashionable during its heyday. By the 1920s, jazz music had permeated the nation's entertainment circles. The Douglass Hotel provided Black San Diegans, in a city otherwise closed to them, an elegant night spot to hear the popular melodies. The Creole Palace had its own band and chorus line, and it regularly booked local entertainers and musicians. Although unable to secure bookings with big-name jazz musicians, the hotel's owners did host after-hour sessions at which these celebrities appeared.

The Douglass operated continuously as a hotel for more than 30 years. In 1956, Mabel Rowe Ramsey, by then the sole proprietor, sold the business. Today, it is a group residence operated by Alcoholics Anonymous.



Owl Rock

Vicinity of Guinda, Yolo County

A rock boulder marks a pioneer Black settlement in Yolo County. This boulder has been subjected to vandalism, and some signatures have been defaced.

On this rock, local pioneer settlers in the late nineteenth century, and more recent twentieth-century arrivals, both Black and White, etched their names, initials, and sometimes the inscription dates. The rock was located on the Jackson Ranch in an area known then as "The Hill." The name referred to the hilly pasture land on the range outside Guinda, where the area's Black ranchers settled.

Notations left on this rock have created a monument to the pioneer settlers who braved adverse conditions in an effort to create a future by working the soil. Many of these early families homesteaded 160 hilly acres. Among the earliest Black settlers recorded on Owl Rock were the Logans, Simpsons, Campbells, Haskells, and Hickersons. Descendants of these pioneer settlers have retained title to their family homesteads, although none of the families now live on the Hill.



Sugg/McDonald House

Sonora, Tuolumne County

The McDonald House is located in Sonora, Tuolumne County. Several additions and changes were made to the original structure in the nineteenth century. Structural alterations were made in 1885 with completion of a three-story, seven-room frame addition. The last modification was made in 1900, when a 15' x 30' addition was added to the rear of the house at the ground floor level.

The original section of this house was constructed in 1860 of adobe brick by a manumitted slave, William Sugg, and his wife, Mary Elizabeth Sugg. William Sugg, a native of Raleigh, North Carolina, arrived in California as a slave. It is not known how long he was enslaved in California before his manumission papers were filed in the Tuolumne County Recorder's Office June 21, 1854. Francis Tate of Texas manumitted Sugg, but only after Sugg agreed to repay the manumission fee.

Mary Elizabeth's legal status is dubious. As a child of 10 in 1849, she journeyed overland to California with her unmarried slave mother and the George Snelling family, who owned her mother. There is no known record of Mary Elizabeth having been listed as a slave in California, but no evidence indicates that her legal status was any different from her

mother's. The Snelling ranch in Merced County was her home until 1855, the year she married William. Sugg brought his bride to Sonora in 1856, where he bought a lot and a cabin for \$450. Within a year, an adjoining lot was purchased for \$150. In 1860, the Suggs, with the help of friends among the 166 Blacks then in the county, built a three-room house from adobe bricks made on their property. Over the subsequent 25 years, as their family grew, they enlarged their home. In 1885, when the major addition was completed, there were seven rooms, and 10 children in the family.

Only one of their children married. Rosa Adelle met Donald William McDonald at San Francisco's Third Baptist Church where he directed the orchestra and she sang in the choir. They married at the Third Baptist Church in 1876. From this union came two boys -- Earl, born in 1902, and Vernon, born in 1906. The house is now occupied by Vernon McDonald.

Daniel Scott's School Site

Visalia, Tulare County

For 15 years after its admission to the union as a free state, California barred Black children from its public educational system. After 1865, the legislature provided general funds for separate "colored schools" in school districts with 10 or more Black applications. In districts where trustees did not choose to establish a separate colored school, Black children could attain an education only through private institutions.

The earliest record of a graded primary school for Visalia's Black youths dates back just two years before the California Legislature's 1875 decision to abolish its separate school system. Until that time, Visalia's Black school-age children were not being afforded a public education even in a separate "colored school."

Daniel Scott, an Afro-American educator trained in the northeastern United States, purchased a small house on a lot in Block 105 of the Aughinbough Addition December 29, 1873, with the intent of establishing a school for Black youths. For two years previous, Scott had been employed as a private tutor on the Wylie Hinds ranch. Once Scott opened his school, Visalia school trustees approached him to enroll Black and Mexican children who were applying but being denied admission to the public school. In exchange for the service, Scott received a small fee. This arrangement seems to have been the inception of public-supported education for Visalia's Black children. When Scott's school closed in 1875,

the trustees voted to establish a school for Black and Mexican children. The new facility, located on Houston and West Streets (now the Dinuba Highway) outside the city limits, was opened in 1876. Established exactly one year after the State Legislature abolished separate schools, the school was operated by the district for 12 years. Visalia's separate school was not closed until the California Supreme Court, in *Wysinger v. Crookshank* (1890), found the system unconstitutional.

John Scott's Ranch

Red Bluff, Tehama County

John Scott was born into servitude at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia. When about 23 years old, he escaped slavery by taking refuge among the Indians. From the various Indian reservations that sheltered him, he made many trips into Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri to free relatives and friends. After about five years of freedom, Scott was captured and sold to United States Army Lieutenant Hoskins. In 1844, he was a slave member of Colonel John C. Fremont's California expedition. Several years after returning to the East, Scott again escaped, this time successfully ending any further servitude.

Heading west again, he was soon back in California where he stopped in Calaveras County and engaged in mining for a brief period. In 1859, Scott homesteaded on half a section of land near Reeds Creek in Tehama County, just south of Red Bluff. It was here that he died May 19, 1916, at the age of 101 years.

Throughout his long residence, Scott gave generously of his time and resources to support activities intended to benefit the Black community.

In 1866, together with several other Black Tehama County residents, he helped establish the county's first colored public school, which was maintained by subscription. At this period in California's history, state law forbade admission of Black children to regular public school systems. School districts had the discretionary power to establish "colored schools" with general school funds, if 10 or more children applied. However, Red Bluff's school trustees did not make such a decision, even though the town at the time was pro-Union. Pro-Union sympathies were so strong that John Brown's widow elected to settle in Red Bluff after the Harper's Ferry incident. Sarah Brown, Brown's daughter, also taught in the "colored school," but the trustees did not choose to end segregated education.

The Quarters (Lincoln Heights)

Weed, Siskiyou County

Dannie's Barber Shop
Mt. Shasta Baptist Church
Mt. Shasta Baptist Church Cemetery
Wayside Church of God in Christ

Weed, California has been a major forest product manufacturing center since Abner Weed established a lumber mill company town in 1900. The company furnished employment and housing for its workers, and also provided mercantile goods and social services until at least 1942. The mill was operated as a family business for only three years before Weed created a corporation. R. A. Long of Long Bell Lumber Company in Louisiana, a major shareholder, acquired control of the corporation by 1916. Long Bell operated the mill until 1956 when International Paper Company took it over. Shortly after International Paper acquired the business, the decision was made to sell all the company houses and lots. Thus ended the era of the company town. Five years later, the town of Weed was incorporated.

Black people did not settle in Weed until the 1920s, after the Long Bell Lumber Company closed two of its Louisiana mills, one in Longville and the other in De Ridder. When these mills closed in 1922, the company offered to advance transportation money to workers and to guarantee company housing and employment if they agreed to relocate to Weed. When Black workers arrived in 1922 and 1923, company housing was made available for them in one section on the northwest end of town. Although there is no record of the exact number of persons who came to Weed in the early 1920s, either from

Long Bell's two Louisiana operations or through other personal contacts, the United States Census shows that Siskiyou County's Black population increased from 447 in 1920 to 541 in 1930.

Several business establishments, two churches, and a cemetery were developed by Black residents in this totally segregated section, which was then known as the Quarters. Only recently has the Quarters been formally named Lincoln Heights.

A hotel, an apartment house, and a club established in the 1920s were the only commercial establishments until 1947 when Dannie Piggee and his brother-in-law, David Douglas, built a small barbecue restaurant. A decade later, Piggee moved his barber shop from the Berryhills Hotel, where it had been for 32 years. For a few years, he had a confectionary in the shop. The barber shop is the one remaining business establishment in the Quarters. This shoe-box-shaped building has a low, pitched roof. There have been no major alterations to the building, and it has its original wood frame and foundation, now quite weathered.

The Mt. Shasta Baptist Church and the Wayside Church of God and Christ are the two existing churches in Lincoln Heights. Mrs. Ella Berryhills organized the older Mt. Shasta Baptist Church sometime around 1922. The congregation worshipped at the Berryhills Hotel until 1924, the year the church edifice was completed on a lot made available by Long Bell. The 1982 congregation, under the spiritual leadership of Reverend Henry Gaines, consisted of approximately 100 adults, including a few families from the neighboring towns of Dunsmuir and Mount Shasta. When the building was refurbished in 1976, the entry was moved from its original location at the east end of the building to the west side. The building was painted at that time.



Dannie's Barber Shop, Siskiyou County



Mount Shasta Baptist Church, Siskiyou County

Elder Ike Finley organized the Wayside Church of God and Christ in his home about 1927. The first church edifice was a small structure built near Highway 97, across the road from the present site. Three years later, the congregation constructed the present building which has been occupied continuously since 1930. The building has remained essentially unchanged since its construction, except for a brick foundation put in during the 1970s.

The Lincoln Heights Cemetery is a Black cemetery which until 1972 was administered by the Mt. Shasta Baptist Church and bore its name. The Winema Cemetery Association now owns both Lincoln Heights and Winema, the White cemetery. The association was founded as a non-profit corporation in 1972 to manage and maintain the town's two cemeteries. The association is supported through memorial gifts, service club donations, and United Way appropriations.

The Lincoln Heights Cemetery is a 1.7-acre tract located in the all-Black Lincoln Heights section of Weed. The land for the cemetery was made available by the Long Bell Lumber Company sometime in the 1920s, probably not long before 1924, the year of the first interment.

Biddy Mason Home Site

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County

Donna Mungen, in *The Life and Times of Biddy Mason* (1978), referred to Mason as a slave who became a wealthy Los Angeles landowner and philanthropist. Biddy Mason was born August 15, 1818 on Robert Smith's plantation in Hancock, Georgia. Thirty-eight years were spent in bondage, four of them in California, before she finally received her freedom. On January 19, 1856, the United States District Court in Los Angeles emancipated Biddy Mason, her three daughters, and 10 other Afro-American women and children, all of whom had been held as slaves by Robert Smith during a nearly four-year residence in California.

Smith came to California with slaves about 1851, and lived in a Mormon settlement in San Bernardino until 1855. In the winter of 1855, he decided to leave California for Texas. The Los Angeles sheriff, summoned by members of the Black community, interrupted the party's departure, and thwarted Smith's plans to take his slaves out of California. Smith was served with a writ of habeas corpus. The case was heard in the United States District Court of Appeals. Legal counsel for the slaves was financed by the Los Angeles Black community.

Immediately following the emancipation decree, Biddy Mason was offered a job as a midwife and nurse by a Los Angeles doctor who had become interested in the litigation.

Soon thereafter, she purchased property at 331 South Spring Street and built a clapboard house which she occupied until her death January 15, 1891. Over the years, this enterprising ex-slave acquired many parcels of Los Angeles property. As the town developed, most of her early investments became prime urban real estate and formed the basis of her considerable wealth.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, 331 South Spring Street served as a haven for newcomers and others needing assistance. Through many philanthropic deeds, Mason became known as Grandma Mason. She regularly visited prisoners in local institutions, bearing gifts and aid. Churches also benefitted from her charity. On occasion, both Black and White churches had their expenses paid by this woman. She also supported formation of the city's first and oldest Black church, the First African Methodist Church, now known as 8th and Townes. It is presently housed in a modern edifice at 2270 South Harvard Street.

Steven Spencer Hill Ranch

Columbia, Tuolumne County

On October 27, 1853, Steven Spencer Hill filed a claim for 160 acres of land northeast of Gold Springs in Tuolumne County, on gently rolling, well-watered slopes abutting the Stanislaus River Canyon. Hill came to California during the Gold Rush of 1849 from Arkansas as a slave-bondsman of Wood Tucker. When Tucker returned to Arkansas in 1853, Hill purchased his freedom and remained in California as a free person.

Hill took possession of Tucker's land, and soon made it an enterprising concern. Initially, 40 acres were cleared and planted, and a small cabin built. Hill mined part-time at Gold Springs, and was successful there, too. *The Columbia Gazette* (April 1, 1854) reported: "On Steve's claim, at Gold Springs, a beautiful specimen was taken out, weighing 9 ounces, pure gold." With his mining fortune, Hill was able to buy the equipment and stock needed to improve his ranch and, by the spring of 1854, had one of the most prosperous ranches in the country.

Unfortunately, the productive ranch was not to be the property of the ex-slave for very long. Owen R. Rozier moved onto the ranch March 27, 1854, asserting that Hill had not been manumitted, and therefore was still Wood Tucker's property and a

fugitive slave. Under the California Fugitive Labor Act of 1852, the court could have Hill arrested and removed to Arkansas if Tucker would substantiate Rozier's allegation, and empower him to act as his agent.

A hearing on the matter was held before a magistrate. Wood Tucker claimed by letter that Hill was still his slave, and empowered Rozier to act on his behalf in securing Hill's return. Hill tried unsuccessfully to sell the property, then on learning of Tucker's treachery, fled the ranch. He was soon arrested and tried by a magistrate who ordered his removal to Arkansas. In September 1854, Rozier booked passage to Arkansas for himself and Hill aboard the steamer *Urilda* from Stockton.

Hill again escaped. His successful flight was reported in the *San Joaquin Republican* on September 25, 1854:

ESCAPE OF A FUGITIVE SLAVE--

Mr. O. R. Rozier called us yesterday, and stated that his slave Stephen, whom he had brought from Sonora, and was taking to Arkansas, made his escape from the steamer Urilda, while lying at the wharf, wither he had taken him to send him to San Francisco. The negro had the gold watch of Mr. R., some thirteen dollars in cash and a draft on Miles Greenwood and Co., of New Orleans, for \$500. It is thought he went towards Sonora, Tuolumne County.

While it appears that Hill gained his freedom, he certainly never regained title to his property. This experience mirrors the extent of Black people's disenfranchisement in nineteenth-century California, a state which entered the Union as a non-slave, free state.

Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church Site

Sacramento, Sacramento County

The County of Sacramento now owns the lot in Sacramento on which the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church stood. This site represents the location of the first organized political activity by Blacks in California.

Historically, the Black church has played a critical role as both sectarian and secular institution. While serving as a place of worship, the church was also a principal vehicle for political activity. Through its seminaries and church schools, the African Methodist Episcopal, the Methodist Episcopal Zion, and the American Baptist churches developed a cadre of educated and trained leaders even before the end of

slavery. California benefited from this tradition of leadership which began in the eastern United States. Numbered among the earliest Black settlers were outspoken clergymen who actively organized and supported educational and political efforts to improve the status of their people.

California's first Black church was organized the year the state was admitted to the Union in 1850. Not only did California have the distinction of having the first African Methodist Episcopal church in the western United States, but the state also hosted the first Black church. Organized in the Sacramento home of Daniel Blue, the first Black church was named the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1851, after a special vote of the congregation and a petition to the Indiana Conference for admission into the African Methodist Episcopal, the name was changed to the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church. Later in the nineteenth century, the name was changed to the St. Andrews African Methodist Episcopal Church.

One year after the church was organized, the congregation erected its first church edifice, a 20' x 30' frame building costing \$3,000. Fifteen years later, on November 13, 1867, the cornerstone for a larger brick building was laid on the Seventh Street site in front of the original church. In 1867, to assist in securing the money to build the second church, the trustees appointed James Williams agent and collector for the church's building fund. Williams was paid two dollars per day to defray travel and board expenses during fund-raising activities throughout the state. Almost 100 years later, the church erected a modern building on a new site at 2131 Eighth Street, Sacramento.

St. Andrews African Methodist Episcopal Church is a fine example of a church that assumed a prominent political role in the history of nineteenth-century California. It actively supported California's Black community in its struggle to gain the full rights of citizenship. Bethel A.M.E. is the name under which this church acquired political prominence in the mid-nineteenth century. On three occasions, 1855, 1856, and 1865, Bethel A.M.E. hosted the California Colored Citizens' State Convention.

The framers of the convention brought together representatives from all counties where there were Black residents to act as a formal political body to address issues affecting the status of Blacks in California. Each of the three Sacramento conventions was called to develop strategies to bring about changes in legislation that adversely affected Black Californians. The right to testify in court against a White person was the political issue of the first two conventions; abolition of segregated schools was the subject of the 1865 convention.



San Pablo Park

Berkeley, Alameda County

San Pablo Park was developed by the City of Berkeley between 1910 and 1914. One of the city's first parks, it includes a playground, ball diamond, and field house. The tract was donated to the city by the Mason McDuffie Company. The May 11, 1910 minutes of the Playground Commission reported, "The Secretary of the Park Commission had telephoned that a portion of the San Pablo Tract would be set aside for use of the Playground Commission if so desired. The offer was accepted and it was decided to ask for three acres near the northern end of the tract." In the spring of 1910, the Playground Commission appropriated \$500 to buy equipment to outfit the playground; by 1913, a baseball diamond and field house had been installed. The Playground Commission's minutes of its June 11, 1913 meeting included the recommendation "that the same San Pablo Park be put in first class condition that it may be used at the earliest possible moment as a recreation center." The following year, University of California Professor John Gregg, professor of landscape gardening and floriculture, College of Agriculture, laid out plans for San Pablo Park. In September 1914, San Pablo Park was opened as a recreation field. Throughout the early years, the park was steadily improved until it provided two baseball diamonds, two tennis courts, boys' and girls' play sections with outdoor gymnasium apparatus, a field house, and two handball courts. The park quickly won recognition as one of the best recreation fields in the San Francisco Bay Area; for several decades, it had the only baseball diamond in the city.

In late 1930, after San Pablo Park had become a Black neighborhood, the city proposed removing the baseball diamond to build a children's nursery. In light of prevailing discrimination, the residents viewed the City of Berkeley's proposal to remove the diamond as just another example of institutional

racism. In an effort to maintain the park's integrity, residents formed the San Pablo Park Neighborhood Council. When the council came into being around 1936, San Pablo Park was the home field for both the Oakland and Berkeley Black baseball teams. Oakland would not permit Blacks to play on that city's athletic fields.

In 1964, the present San Pablo Park Community Clubhouse was erected at a cost of \$200,000. At present, in addition to the clubhouse's formal function as a recreational center, public educational and recreational programs are scheduled in the facility's meeting halls, as are private receptions, social affairs, and neighborhood political activities.

The park includes a playground, two baseball diamonds, tennis courts, and a recreation center. Surrounding it are neatly manicured tree-lined streets and pastel-colored stucco and clapboard bungalows built after the tract opened in 1914.

Coleman Creek

Julian, San Diego County

The discovery of gold in Julian, San Diego County, can be attributed to A. E. (Frederick) Coleman.

Coleman, a Black rancher and experienced miner, discovered gold in the creek here while watering his horse during the winter of 1869-70. On making the discovery, he immediately began panning in the shallow waters which now bear his name. The Coleman Mining District was soon formed with Fred Coleman as recorder. Other mining districts were formed as the area began to swarm with miners, nearly 1,000 by 1870. The gold seekers, many from San Diego, stayed on through the harsh winters in tents and makeshift quarters.

By late 1870, the newcomers formed a town government and named the settlement after two brothers, Mike and Webb Julian, Confederate soldiers from Georgia. To encourage rapid growth, town lots were given free to anyone who would agree to build immediately.

Before the gold discovery, the area had a significant Black and Indian settlement. Fred Coleman, by some reports, either had an Indian wife or lived in an Indian settlement. Newcomers during the early gold rush years swelled the population and fundamentally changed its ethnic character, and presumably, its social and political climate as well. Despite the rapid changes that occurred in Julian following the gold discovery, some Black families remained and continued to have a presence in the community. In 1890, 7% of the town's 500 residents were Black.

Several Black families, some of whom were members of the original Black and Indian settlement, became local merchants and entrepreneurs. Albert Robinson, a farmer from Missouri, and his wife, Margaret Boyd, a Julian resident at the time of the gold discovery, opened a restaurant on Main Street during the late 1880s. The business was later expanded into a hotel. Known as the Robinson Hotel until it was sold in 1921, it is now Julian's only hotel and has been nominated to the National Register of Historic Places.



Bray Residence/Bunk House, San Diego County, [circa 1914]

The Bray Residence/ Bunk House

Julian Union District, San Diego County

The Bray Residence is no longer in existence, but the 40-x-40-foot board-and-batten bunk house still stands on its original location, 300 feet east of the house site. This three-room structure, built during J. Goodman Bray's tenure, was used to house mine workers.

The Himalayan Mine in the Mesa Grande Area, San Diego County, 11 miles south of Palomar Mountain, is the site of a great tourmaline discovery. The *State Mineral Bulletin* (1905) reported it to be the richest gem tourmaline mine in North America. Both the discovery and exploitation of the mine are attributed to J. Goodman Bray, a Black man from New York. Around 1898, Bray was sent to the Mesa Grande Region on a scouting mission for a New York jeweler. He located the mine on a small ranch and quietly purchased the property from its unsuspecting owner.

The Mesa Grande Tourmaline and Gem Company acquired the mine and started gemstone production sometime between 1898 and 1903. Bray held the position of mine superintendent until the mine closed in 1913. A geologist and Cornell University

graduate, Bray had a national reputation as a gem expert, even before developing the Himalayan Mine. Superintendent of the county's richest tourmaline mine, he became known as the Tourmaline King of California, and was remembered by a former mine foreman as a remarkable man.

Bray had the superintendent's house built on a foundation of rocks and crystal containing actual tourmaline prisms in the rough. For more than a decade, Bray and his wife lived in what has been described as a spacious redwood-sided bungalow. Fire destroyed the house in 1954.

Murray's Dude Ranch

Apple Valley, San Bernardino County

Murray's Dude Ranch, located in Apple Valley, San Bernardino County, operated for nearly 20 years as a dude ranch with a pool, several small houses, tennis courts, and riding stables. The ranch was founded by N. B. Murray, a Black businessman from Los Angeles.

An article in the *Los Angeles California Eagle*, dated September 14, 1914, describes the business acumen of Murray when he opened Murray's Pocket Billiard Emporium and Cigar Store on East Ninth Street in Los Angeles:

... owing to sober and investrious habit, honest and just methods of dealing with his many patrons and with an intelligent application to business has brought to himself a large following of friends and enviable standing with the business world. Murray and his high class way of doing things is indeed a credit to his race.

These glowing praises are still used when ex-patrons describe the establishment Murray operated in Apple Valley until the 1940s. The ranch was used by entertainment personalities and by ordinary families. It was open to all who could afford to come. Murray's was a recreational favorite for Blacks, and a marker in the history of Black recreation. The sign



at the entrance to the resort advertised: "There are only two places in the world to go, Murray's Dude Ranch and Paris, France."

In the 1920s, when Murray's Dude Ranch opened, widespread segregation practices limited Black Californians' access to most private and public recreational facilities. Resorts, hotels, nightclubs, and even public parks in many California communities were closed to Black patrons. For nearly half of the twentieth century, recreational activities of the Black community were carried out in separate facilities. Black-owned resorts were established in the first two decades of the twentieth century, including Lake Elsinore in Riverside County and Piru in Ventura County.



Beckwourth Cabin

Beckwourth, Plumas County

This building was fashioned of logs with chinking construction. Reportedly, the structure has not had any major alterations. Flooring has been replaced over the years, and the exterior patched, but no structural changes have been undertaken.

James Beckwourth, a shrewd, enterprising Afro-American explorer, fur trader, and speculator, made major contributions to western history not yet fully recorded in historical annals. While this Black man's contributions toward expanding the western frontier have been largely omitted from historical accounts, White contemporaries Kit Carson and Jim Bridger have become legendary figures.

Born in 1798, Beckwourth apprenticed with a St. Louis, Missouri blacksmith at the age of 14, but the apprenticeship ended abruptly after five years, following an altercation between the young student and his teacher. By the 1820s, the Rocky Mountain Fur Company had employed Beckwourth to make

forays into Indian Territory. For the next 25 years, he worked as a trapper, scout, and trader in the Rockies, the Southwest, and California. When Beckwourth moved his operation into California in 1850, he came as no stranger to the region.

At the start of his nearly 10-year sojourn on the Pacific Coast, Beckwourth blazed a trail through a Sierra Nevada pass, northwest of what is now Reno, Nevada. The pass was then the lowest and least precarious route through the mountain range. Overland travelers could come through Beckwourth's pass directly into Marysville, the gateway to the northern gold fields, to be outfitted for the mines. This pass crossed the Sierra Nevada at the middle fork of the Feather River and headed down the east ridge past Bidwell's Bar, directly into Marysville.

Aware of the potential value to Marysville and Bidwell Bar if the pass could be developed as an immigrant route, Beckwourth solicited subscriptions in these towns for construction of a wagon road. Beckwourth and Company completed the road in 1851 at Beckwourth's expense, and brought the first immigrant party in that summer. Beckwourth's comments in the *Marysville Herald* on August 13, 1853 implied that the Marysville town government and its citizens defaulted on their pledges to Beckwourth and Company although repeated attempts were made to collect the money. After completing the road, Beckwourth continued to lead wagon trains over the pass into Sierra Valley and down to Marysville for several few years.

Beckwourth settled in the valley beneath the pass by 1852, and became an innkeeper and trading post manager. Wagon trains crossing Beckwourth's pass enroute to Marysville obtained provisions and lodging at his establishment, the first ranch encountered on the California side. His first log cabin burned, but was rebuilt in 1852. During Beckwourth's occupancy, the building was variously used as a trading post, inn, and ranch house. Today, the cabin reported to have been on Beckwourth's ranch stands just 1.25 miles from the hamlet that bears the name.

The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth, memoirs dictated by Beckwourth to T. D. Bonner, a resident in the cabin, were published in 1856 by Harper & Row. The publication was another of this mountain man's notable achievements. The autobiography generated considerable controversy then and for years thereafter. Many asserted that the accounts were unbelievable, but later critics considered the work to be generally accurate.

By 1858, Beckwourth had left California and settled in Colorado where he engaged in various business

enterprises. For a brief period during the Civil War, he acted as a United States government agent in Indian negotiations. James P. Beckwourth died in Colorado in 1864 at the age of 66.



Hairdressing and Shaving Saloon

Wheatland, Yuba County

The Hairdressing and Shaving Saloon has been in continuous use as a barber shop since 1875, just one year after Wheatland's incorporation.

Edward Park Duplex, a Black man who would become Mayor of Wheatland, opened a hairdressing and shaving saloon at 415 Main Street in 1875. Duplex had been a barber in Marysville for 20 years before moving to Wheatland.

Duplex's Hairdressing and Shaving Saloon was located several doors from the Central Hotel in the heart of the business district, and was a locus of Wheatland's civic activity. Here, leaders exchanged information on matters facing the town's development while receiving tonsorial services. According to an advertisement in the *Wheatland Free Press* May 29, 1875, "the shop paid particular attention to cutting ladies and misses hair, to honing and setting razors and Duplex's celebrated Eau Lustral Hair Restorative, together with a choice selection of oils and pomades, kept constantly on hand."

Duplex was elected Mayor of Wheatland April 11, 1888 by the Board of Trustees, and may well have been the first Black person to hold such a high office in the western United States. By the time he occupied the mayor's office, Duplex had had more than one quarter of a century's experience as a businessman and civic leader. In 1855, he was the Yuba County representative at the first California Colored Citizens State Convention in Sacramento. At the 1856 convention, Duplex was once again a

county representative, and served as a member of the convention's Executive Committee. On several occasions, Duplex was recorded in the Marysville City Council Minutes as a spokesman for Mt. Olivet Baptist Church.

In recognition of his stature, the *Marysville Daily Appeal*, January 8, 1900, described him "as one of the best known Colored men in this northern part of the State." Years later, Peter Delay, in the *History of Yuba and Sutter Counties*, named Duplex as "a man who helped make Wheatland."

On January 5, 1900, Edward P. Duplex died in Sacramento at the age of 69 after some 45 years in California. He was a native of Connecticut.

The Hairdressing and Shaving Saloon, also known as George's Barber Shop, still stands in Wheatland. The structure has a front business section and rear living quarters. It appears that this building's exterior has remained the same as it was in 1875.

Allensworth

Tulare County

Allensworth, established in 1908, fulfilled the dream of a number of men and women -- the dream of a community where Black people could live and work in dignity, without day-to-day confrontation with racial prejudice. Two men figured prominently in its realization -- Allen Allensworth and William A. Payne.

Colonel Allensworth and Professor Payne were President and Secretary, respectively, of the California Colonization and Home Promotion Association, incorporated on June 30, 1908. The group envisioned an idealistic and democratic town where Black people would have the opportunity to live in peace, themselves enacting the laws that controlled their lives, freed of the racial discrimination and violence characteristic of most other communities. The association actively promoted the idea of establishing Allensworth as a Black self-governed town whose achievements would create "sentiment favorable to intellectual and industrial liberty" for Black people in the United States.

Allen Allensworth was born a slave on April 7, 1842, in Louisville, Kentucky. He successfully fled slavery and worked as a nurse attached to the Union Army forces during the Civil War. In April 1863, he joined the United States Navy, and in a short time rose from first-class seaman to first-class petty officer. Honorably discharged on April 4, 1865, he worked as a civilian in the Commissary of the Navy Yard at Mound City, Missouri, for two years. Then, he and

his brother opened two St. Louis restaurants that became tremendously successful.

He was active in teaching and church work, showing piety, strength of character, and leadership ability, and was ordained a minister by the Fifth Street Baptist Church on April 9, 1871. He sold the restaurants and devoted his attention to the church, holding several pastorates in Kentucky and Ohio.

In 1882, a Black soldier directed Allensworth's attention to the fact that the chaplains of four Black army regiments were White, and urged him to use his influence to secure the appointment of a chaplain. When Allensworth learned of the retirement of the chaplain for the 24th Infantry, he decided to seek the appointment. On April 1, 1886, President Grover Cleveland appointed him chaplain with the rank of captain, responsible for the spiritual well-being and teaching of Black soldiers.

Allensworth retired from the United States Army on April 7, 1906 with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. After retiring, he traveled throughout the midwestern and eastern states lecturing on the need for Afro-American self-help programs as a vehicle to economic, social, and political self-sufficiency. He selected Los Angeles as a place to settle with his wife and two daughters.

Born in West Virginia in 1865, William Payne spent his youth in Ohio where his father worked as a coal miner. When young Payne graduated from high school, his family sent him to Athens, Ohio to obtain a teaching certificate at the state normal school. Payne had the foresight to want a bachelor's degree, even though it then exceeded the minimal teaching requirements, and in 1898 he was admitted to Dennison University in Granville, Ohio. Before

receiving his degree from Dennison in 1902, he married his classmate Zenobia B. Jones, from a prominent Rentsville, Oklahoma family.

After retiring from the mines in 1905, his father, Robert Frank Payne, moved the family to California. Payne and his wife followed, moving to Pasadena in 1906. He had been Assistant Principal for seven years at the Rentsville School and professor at the West Virginia Colored Institute for two years; in California, he hoped to be a teacher of teachers. But eligibility to teach in the Los Angeles School District then required prior teaching experience in a California school. Despite 1870 statutes eliminating the state's mandatory separate school system, employment opportunities for minorities in the California public school system were primarily limited to menial jobs.

Allen Allensworth and William Payne were both educators with a strong sense of social consciousness. They combined their experiences, talents, and educational achievements to establish a race colony to put their ideas into practice.

The location selected for their new colony, to be named Allensworth, was a depot on the main Santa Fe Railroad line connecting Los Angeles and San Francisco. Solito, as it was named in 1908, was a major transfer point for grain and cattle shipments. The soil was fertile, surface water abundant, groundwater tables high, and the cost of land reasonable. The promotion of the town was successful. Enterprising Black men and women -- craftsmen, artisans, businessmen, farmers, ranchers, retired military -- moved their families to the newly purchased land.



Colonel Allen Allensworth, Tulare County



Allensworth School, Tulare County

The affairs of the new town were administered by a council form of government known as the Allensworth Progressive Association, which directed the community through its formative and critical early years. Both men and women held responsible positions.

Allensworth's basic economy depended on agricultural enterprises -- cultivation of alfalfa, grain, sugar beets, and cotton; and raising of dairy cattle, chickens, turkeys, and Belgian hares. The town's business district held several stores, a bakery, a drug store, a livery stable, a barber shop, and a machine shop. A school and a library were located near the Allensworth Hotel.

Allensworth grew rapidly in its first few years, but irrigation water, a necessity in the San Joaquin Valley, was never provided in adequate supply. The town was built on land that had been purchased from a Los Angeles land development syndicate, Pacific Farming Company, which according to the grant deed, was to provide a water system equal to the needs of the community. The town engaged in a long, expensive, and ultimately unsuccessful legal battle to effect compliance.

A combination of factors -- diversion, demands of extensive irrigation, and deep-well pumping in surrounding areas -- limited the water supply available in Allensworth. The scarcity of water stymied the agricultural and ranching enterprises, and fire protection could not be provided.

After 1925, Allensworth residents found it increasingly difficult to further develop their agricultural and ranching industry without water and to assume the place in the San Joaquin Valley's economy that the California Colonization and Home Promotion Association had envisioned.

During the 1920s and 1930s, residents began to leave for work in other places and other industries; the personnel needs of World War II called many more. The remaining citizens tried new methods of farming and other businesses; some drilled their own wells. But in 1966, dangerous quantities of arsenic were found in the drinking water.

In its economic and social context, Allensworth represents the realization of a basic American dream -- a prosperous community encouraged by a democratic government. Only 40 years before its founding, Blacks were excluded from homestead lands by law. Even though California had joined the Union as a "free state," Blacks were allowed few civil rights. Schools and other public facilities were segregated, voting and militia rights were denied, and Blacks could not testify against Whites.

Allensworth, however, offered its inhabitants the chance to participate fully in a community, to practice high ideals and principles, to make and enforce their own laws, to own property, and to seek and reach their individual and collective goals. It offered an opportunity to seek and achieve dignity and equality.

Allensworth is currently interpreted as a historical unit within the California State Park System.

Historical Listing

1. **A. J. Roberts Funeral Home Site**, Los Angeles County
 2. **African Methodist Episcopal Church Site (Grass Valley)**, Nevada County
 3. **African Methodist Episcopal Church Site (Nevada City)**, Nevada County
 4. **African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church**, Shasta County
 5. **Alexander Street**, Nevada County
 - * 6. **Allen Chapel A.M.E. Church**, Riverside County
 - * 7. **Allensworth**, Tulare County
 - * 8. **"Athletics,"** San Francisco
 9. **Bass House**, Riverside County
 - * 10. **Beckwourth Cabin/Trading Post**, Plumas County
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11. **Bell Mountain Community/Sidewinder Well Site**, San Bernardino County
 12. **Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church**, Yuba County
 - * 13. **Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church Site**, Sacramento County
 - * 14. **Biddy Mason Home Site**, Los Angeles County
 15. **Bishop House**, Stanislaus County
 16. **Bon Ton Restaurant**, San Diego County
 - * 17. **Booker T. Washington Community Service Center**, San Francisco
 - * 18. **Boyers/Kenner House**, Santa Clara County
 - * 19. **Bray Residence/Bunk House**, San Diego County
 - * 20. **Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters Headquarters Site**, Alameda County
-
21. **Burney the Carriage Trimmer**, San Diego County
 22. **Burr Ranch/Smith Brothers Ranch**, Fresno County
 23. **Camp Ashby Site**, Alameda County
 24. **Carrie Mae Brent Education Center**, Sacramento County
 25. **Churchill/Finley House**, Yuba County
 - * 26. **City Hotel Site**, San Francisco
 - * 27. **Clinton Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church**, Stanislaus County
 - * 28. **Clinton House**, Tehama County
 - * 29. **Coleman Creek**, San Diego County
 30. **Coleman House**, Shasta County

* Sites included in this report

Historical Listing—cont'd.

- * 31. **Colored School**, Santa Cruz County
 - 32. **Colored School**, Tulare County
 - 33. **Colored School Site**, Nevada County
 - * 34. **Daniel Scott's School Site**, Tulare County
 - * 35. **Dannie's Barber Shop**, Siskiyou County
 - 36. **Dorothy Inghram Home**, San Bernardino County
 - * 37. **Douglass Hotel**, San Diego County
 - * 38. **Douglass High School**, Imperial County
 - 39. **Duke Luster House**, Placer County
 - 40. **Dunbar Hospital Site**, Los Angeles County
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- 41. **Dunnigan Home for the Elderly**, San Bernardino County
 - 42. **Duval School Site**, Alameda County
 - 43. **Elizabeth Flake Rowan**, San Bernardino County
 - 44. **Elizabeth Flake Rowan Plaque**, San Bernardino County
 - 45. **Fannie Wall Children's Home**, Alameda County
 - * 46. **Fifty-first Street School**, Los Angeles County
 - 47. **Fowler City Park**, Fresno County
 - 48. **Frazier House**, San Francisco
 - 49. **Furlong Tract**, Los Angeles County
 - * 50. **Gabriel Moore Ranch**, Fresno County
-
- 51. **George Duplex Home**, Sacramento County
 - 52. **Golden State Mutual Life Insurance Co.**, Los Angeles County
 - 53. **Grace Apartments**, Los Angeles County
 - * 54. **Hairdressing and Shaving Saloon**, Yuba County
 - 55. **Home for the Aged and Infirm Colored People Site**, Alameda County
 - 56. **Hoover House**, Alameda County
 - 57. **Howdnett Residence**, Kings County
 - 58. **Hudson-Ledell Building**, Los Angeles County
 - 59. **James Key Phillips Office Block**, Los Angeles
 - * 60. **John Scott's Ranch Site**, Tehama County

* Sites included in this report

Historical Listing—cont'd.

61. **Johnson's Buggy and Blacksmith Shop**, Riverside County
 62. **Kentucky Ridge Colony Site**, Nevada County
 63. **King's Ranch**, Riverside County
 64. **Liberty Savings and Loan Association**, Los Angeles County
 65. **Light-Freeman House Site**, San Diego County
 66. **Logan Lake**, Shasta County
 67. **Louden Nelson Memorial**, Santa Cruz County
 - * 68. **Lower Presidio Hill**, Monterey County
 69. **Martin's Department Store**, Tehama County
 70. **Madame C. J. Walker House**, San Francisco
-
71. **Mercantile Block/Stoke-Wiley Store**, Riverside County
 72. **Miller's Cafe and Casino**, Riverside County
 73. **Mitchell House**, Tehama County
 - * 74. **Mt. Shasta Baptist Church**, Siskiyou County
 - * 75. **Mt. Shasta Baptist Church Cemetery**, Siskiyou County
 - * 76. **Murray's Dude Ranch**, San Bernardino County
 77. **Nathan Harrison Grade Monument**, San Diego County
 78. **Negro Women's Civic Improvement Club**, Sacramento County
 79. **Orr's Ranch**, Fresno County
 - * 80. **Owl Rock**, Yolo County
-
- * 81. **Phoenixonian Institute Site**, Santa Clara County
 82. **Pogue/Gibbons House**, Yuba County
 - * 83. **Quarters (Lincoln Heights)**, Siskiyou County
 84. **Red Bluff African Methodist Episcopal Church**, Tehama County
 85. **Reynolds Shoeshine Parlor**, Riverside County
 86. **Richmond Logan Ranch**, Shasta County
 87. **Robinson/Simmons Hotel**, San Diego County
 - * 88. **San Pablo Park**, Alameda County
 89. **San Pablo Park Tract**, Alameda County
 90. **Second Avenue Baptist Church**, Los Angeles County

* Sites included in this report

Historical Listing—cont'd.

- 91. **Second Baptist Church**, San Joaquin County
 - 92. **Seventh Street Stables Site**, Kings County
 - 93. **Shorey Street**, Alameda County
 - * 94. **Steven Spencer Hill Ranch**, Tuolumne County
 - * 95. **Sugg/McDonald House**, Tuolumne County
 - 96. **Thomas Yarbrough Castle**, Riverside County
 - 97. **Tonsorial Artist and Hair Dresser**, Tehama County
 - 98. **Vallejo Institute for Negroes**, Solano County
 - 99. **W. W. Meadows and Sons**, San Diego County
 - *100. **Wayside Church of God in Christ**, Siskiyou County
-
- 101. **Welchar Residence**, Kings County
 - 102. **West House**, San Joaquin County
 - 103. **Wylie Hinds Ranch Site**, Tulare County
 - 104. **Yesmar Hotel**, San Diego County
 - 105. **Young's Place**, Fresno County

* Sites included in this report

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Coleman Creek, San Diego County



A History of **CHINESE AMERICANS** in California

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This report concentrates on the early decades of Chinese American history, 1850 to 1900. Limiting our scope in time has made it possible to search for endangered resources in all 58 counties of the state, instead of restricting our activity to the leading 10 or 12 counties. In consultation with members of the Chinese American community, the survey research team set this priority because of the importance of ascertaining true settlement patterns, occupations, lifestyles, responses to discrimination, and survival of early Chinese immigrants.

Information on these subjects in nineteenth-century newspapers and other written records is filled with caricatures and derogatory epithets. Yet these sources are often quoted even today because of the scarcity of written documentation on certain aspects of Chinese American history. Because of this, the value of the survey of Chinese American historic sites goes beyond simple recognition of certain historic buildings and places. The location, type, and historic significance of those buildings and places provide valuable information about patterns of early Chinese American life.

The term "Chinese American" is used here in its broadest sense, to include both citizens and non-citizens. The reason is that until 1943, Chinese immigrants (with few exceptions) were prevented by law from becoming naturalized citizens of this country. Because such legislation was discriminatory, it seems only fair to include as Chinese Americans permanent residents who spent most of their lives in the United States, and whose major achievements or contributions were in the United States. Even many of those who in their final years returned to China to die left their children and grandchildren in this country.

Chinese American history is a living, continuous history, as shown by the numbers of fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-generation Chinese Americans in California and elsewhere in the United States. To make this clear in the survey, some historic sites from the early twentieth century were included. The early Chinese immigrant population did not die out but survived despite racial violence, discriminatory legislation, restrictive covenants, and limited opportunity. Amid the increased numbers of Chinese immigrants in recent years, it should be remembered that not all Chinese Americans are recent arrivals.

Considerable evidence exists to substantiate the early exploration of the west coast of North America by Chinese adventurers, priests, and merchants.¹ In fact, there were early Chinese immigrants to Mexico before those in California,² and a number of Chinese in California during Spanish rule. One of those was Ah Nam, the cook who worked for Governor Pablo Vicente de Sola in Monterey in 1815.³

The west coast of North America in the nineteenth century was known to Chinese sailors who were employed on American ships, or who fished off the coast of California in Chinese junks. As early as 1848, it was advocated in the United States that Chinese workers be encouraged to come to this country to provide inexpensive farm labor.⁴

Since pre-revolutionary days, trade has been carried on between this country and China. The tea dumped into Boston Harbor at the outset of the American Revolution was from China, and many colonial homes displayed ceramic wares and other objects from China. Even before colonial times, the desire to find a new sea route to China led to the coming of some Europeans to this continent. Under these circumstances, it was natural that California should develop trade relations with China.

A HISTORY OF CHINESE AMERICANS IN CALIFORNIA

Early Contacts

Trade Relations with China

Building materials were in great demand in early California because of the sudden increase in population brought about by the Gold Rush. Prefabricated buildings and materials were shipped from the East Coast by way of Cape Horn, or were imported from other countries overseas.

One of the best-known examples of prefabricated buildings imported from China was Parrott's Granite Block building in San Francisco, for which pre-cut granite blocks were shipped to the United States.⁵ Chinese stonemasons came also, and on June 8, 1852, they went on strike for higher wages.⁶ This earliest recorded strike by early Chinese immigrants is of considerable significance since it shows their concern for equal pay for equal work.

Of all buildings prefabricated in China and exported to the United States, the earliest one still standing is the Double Springs Courthouse in Calaveras County. It was constructed in 1850 from pre-cut camphor wood.⁷

THE 1850s:

Lifestyles of Early Immigrants

Most Chinese immigrants entered California through the port of San Francisco. They developed a Chinese American community there, and made an effort to participate in the political and cultural life of the city. In 1850, they attended a religious meeting and received copies of Christian religious writings, marched in a funeral procession for President Zachary Taylor, and participated in festivities celebrating California's admission into the Union. In 1852, several prominent Chinese Americans took part in the Fourth of July Parade in San Francisco.⁸

Chinese Americans in San Francisco also sought to preserve some of their own cultural traditions. In 1851, they celebrated the lunar new year in the traditional way.⁹ In 1852, the first performance of Cantonese opera was held in the American Theatre on Sansome Street, and several months later, the first Chinese theatre building was completed.¹⁰ Two Chinese-language newspapers began publishing in 1854 and 1855.¹¹

The Kong Chow Association is generally believed to have been the first organization established among Chinese in the United States. Early Cantonese who arrived in San Francisco in 1849 were apparently from the Sun Wui and Hawk Shan districts (which make up the Kong Chow Association).¹² The exact date when the Kong Chow Temple was first built is unknown, but documentary evidence suggests that it was in existence as early as 1853.¹³

Rivaling the Kong Chow Association as the first organization established among Chinese in the United States was the Chew Yick Association. On December 10, 1849, 300 members of the latter organization elected Norman As-sing, a prominent San Francisco merchant, as their leader. As-sing claimed to be an American citizen, naturalized in Charleston, South Carolina and converted to Christianity. He had a greater knowledge of American customs and language than most other early Chinese Americans. At his Macao and Woosung Restaurant on the corner of Kearny and Commercial streets, about a block from Portsmouth Plaza, he gave banquets at which he entertained local politicians and policemen. He often represented the Chinese American community on formal occasions, and served as an interpreter.¹⁴

Tong K. Achick was among a group of Chinese immigrants arriving in San Francisco in 1851 who had learned English and some American customs at mission schools in China. He was instrumental in founding the Yeong Wo Association for immigrants from his native district of Heung

Shan. Later, he and Norman As-sing became rivals for leadership of the Chinese American community in San Francisco.¹⁵

Not all of the early Chinese pioneers landed in San Francisco. One location along the coast of California where early Chinese landed and where their descendants have remained is the city of Mendocino, which was a port for the California lumber industry. The only historic building remaining from this early Chinese American community is the Mo Dai Miu, or Temple of Kuan Kung.¹⁶

Taoism was the religion of most of the early Chinese immigrants, and Kuan Kung was the most popular deity. Kuan Yu (later called Kuan Kung) was an actual person who had lived in China during the Three Kingdoms Period (third century, A.D.). He has sometimes been referred to as the god of war, but this designation is misleading. He was a military leader renowned for his courage, loyalty, and adherence to lofty ideals. He was even known to have sacrificed his personal success when it would have required him to compromise his principles. These qualities are the reasons he was venerated after his death, and became so popular among the early Cantonese who came to this country.¹⁷

The Taoist temple was a source of strength for early Chinese American pioneers. Worship was usually done individually, rather than in congregations. Respect for deities and departed relatives was shown by offerings of incense, accompanied by food and drink on special occasions. Paper offerings (in the form of money, clothing, etc.) were burned, since burning was viewed as a means of transmitting objects from the visible to the invisible world.

Prayers were offered silently in the heart before the altar. Questions were asked of various deities, usually by writing the question on a piece of paper and then burning it on the altar. An answer was obtained by consulting the prayer sticks (sometimes called fortune sticks), which had to be interpreted by the priest or deacon of the temple. Evidence suggests that most frontier Taoist temples were supervised by deacons rather than ordained priests.¹⁸

The Taoist temple was also a social center and a focal point for early Chinese American communities. The first and fifteenth days of the lunar month were days of worship, when people often met at the temple. Each spring, a "bomb day" festival was held in most temples.¹⁹ The highlight of the festival was the shooting off of a rocket (or "bomb") containing lucky rings. The temple also provided some social services, such as lodging for travelers.

The United States Constitution in the 1850s reserved the right of naturalization for White immigrants to this country.²⁰ It recognized only two skin colors, White and Black. Since early Chinese immigrants were neither Black nor White, some were allowed to become naturalized citizens, but most were not. Without citizenship, they could not vote or hold government office, and had no voice in determining their future in this country. They were designated as "aliens ineligible for citizenship," and as such were unable to own land or file mining claims.²¹

Chinese American miners reworked old claims at times and in places where they were prevented by law or racial violence from filing their own claims. Especially after it was ruled that Chinese could not testify in court against Whites,²² the only reasonable course of action was to try to avoid open confrontation or direct competition with Whites.

Religion

Legal Status of Early Immigrants

In later years public-spirited Chinese Americans who accumulated money in excess of their needs often sent money back to China to build schools and hospitals.²³ They retained their Chinese citizenship, since they were not allowed to become citizens of the United States. They could not vote, hold public office, or be employed by the State. Their future here was uncertain, even though they paid taxes and contributed to the economy of the country.

Fishing

Exactly when the Chinese began to fish off the coast of California is unknown, but oral tradition states that fishing began before gold was discovered. There were early communities in Monterey, San Diego, and San Luis Obispo counties, whose inhabitants fished for squid, abalone, and various kinds of fish. As early as 1854, there was a fishing village on Rincon Point in San Francisco.²⁴

Chinese began fishing for shrimp in California probably around the mid-1860s. Numerous villages or "shrimp camps" were established on the shores of both San Francisco and San Pablo bays. China Camp in Marin County was one of the largest and longest-lived of these camps. Shrimp fishing was a long-established industry in China. Many immigrant Chinese arrived with knowledge of fishing and preservation techniques necessary to develop a shrimping enterprise in California.²⁵

In the early days, when there was little demand for fresh shrimp in the United States, most of the shrimp catch was dried and sent back to China. Later, as the demand for fresh shrimp grew in California, Chinese American shrimp fishermen came under increasing pressure from other fishing groups. Discriminatory legislation was passed that required the purchase of special licenses, forbade traditional Chinese fishing techniques, limited the fishing season, prohibited export of dried shrimp, and restricted the size of the catch.²⁶ As the population of China Camp dwindled, only the Quan family persisted and adapted to new regulations and changing technology. Today, Frank Quan is the last Chinese American shrimp fisherman there.

Chinese Americans also worked in fish canneries which processed the fish that other fishermen caught. For example, most of the employees at the salmon cannery in Del Norte County, established by the Occident and Orient Commercial Company in 1857, were Chinese immigrants.²⁷

Immigration

As soon as news of the discovery of gold in California reached China, there was a dramatic increase in the numbers of Chinese immigrants to the west coast of the United States. Most of the immigrants came from Kuangtung Province in Southern China. That section of China had previously had contact with the West through the port of Canton. The reasons many Chinese emigrated were the series of wars, rebellions, civil disorders, floods, famines, and droughts that wracked China, and made earning a livelihood difficult in their native land.²⁸ A particular humiliation was the defeat of China by the British in the Opium War of 1840, after the Chinese sought to cut off the British importation of opium into China.²⁹

To be better prepared for whatever difficulties might lie ahead, the Chinese often emigrated in self-help groups from the same village, often with the same surname. Because few of them knew the language and customs of California, they formed larger self-help groups consisting of people with the same surname or from the same region. Most had to borrow money for their passage to California, and were required to repay this debt from their earnings here. Those who could not borrow from their families borrowed from agencies under the credit-ticket system.³⁰ Attempts to

Immigration Station at Angel Island, Marin County, [circa 1910]



bring Chinese workers to the United States as contract laborers were stymied by the absence of any means to enforce the contracts.³¹

The term “coolie” refers to contract laborers whose contract specified conditions approximating servitude, slavery, or peonage. Use of this term with regard to early Chinese immigrants to this country is incorrect. Widespread use of the term “coolie” to persuade American voters that all Chinese immigrants were slaves, and that their immigration to the United States ought to be prohibited, has given the term racist connotations.

The presence of the ailanthus tree (the so-called “Tree of Heaven”) throughout California has long been a puzzle. The tree is native to China, but not to the United States; yet it grows profusely in those regions where early Chinese immigrants lived. All sorts of fanciful explanations are given -- that the Chinese accidentally brought the seeds to this country in the cuffs of their trousers (their trousers did not have cuffs), or that the Chinese brought the seeds to this country because they were homesick. The real reason Chinese immigrants brought ailanthus seeds to this country is that the trees are thought to contain an herbal remedy beneficial for arthritis.³² The Chinese “wedding plant” was also brought to this country as an herbal remedy, but is less easily recognized.

Herbal medicine fulfilled an important health need in the nineteenth century for both Chinese and non-Chinese alike. Western medicine had not yet developed wonder drugs, anaesthetics, vaccinations, or sophisticated surgical techniques. Patent medicines were widely used, and their contents were not regulated by any agency of the government. Drastic measures, such as bleeding, were sometimes resorted to. On the other hand, Chinese herbal remedies had one to two thousand years of use behind them. In fact, some so-called “wonder drugs” are actually synthesized forms of various herbs. Even today, some medically trained Chinese Americans prefer some herbs to their synthesized forms because the natural herbs have no side effects.³³

One of the ancient building techniques brought from China was construction using rammed earth. While adobe and rammed earth are often associated with Spanish and Mexican cultures, rammed earth was a construction technique in use in China as early as 1500 B.C. This technique involves packing mud between wooden forms and hammering it until it becomes as hard as stone. It is an inexpensive building technique, but it is

Technology Brought from China

vulnerable to rains and dampness. When it is used in South China, where the weather is often damp, buildings are faced with stone for added protection.³⁴

Mining

After gold was discovered in California, Chinese immigrants joined the ranks of gold seekers from all over the world. But when they arrived in the gold fields, they were greeted by racial discrimination.

In 1850, the California Legislature passed a law taxing all foreign miners 20 dollars a month. Although stated in general terms, it was enforced chiefly against Mexicans and Chinese.³⁵

In May 1852, at Foster and Atchinson's Bar in Yuba County, a meeting was held and a resolution was passed denying Chinese the right to hold claims and requiring all Chinese to leave.³⁶ This was followed by a mass meeting in the Columbia Mining District in the southern mines, where a resolution was passed to exclude "Asiatics and South Sea Islanders" from mining activities.³⁷ In 1855, an anti-Chinese convention was held in Shasta County to expel the Chinese from mining claims.³⁸ Shortly afterward, the California Legislature passed an act to discourage immigration to the state by persons who could not become citizens and who were, for the most part, Chinese.³⁹

One of the earliest acts of racial violence against Chinese immigrants took place in 1856, when white miners from outlying camps marched down to Yreka's Chinese American community, destroyed property, and beat up Chinese Americans.⁴⁰

Despite hostility and discrimination, Chinese continued to immigrate to California to avail themselves of whatever opportunities awaited them here. When they were prevented from mining gold in the mining districts, they became merchants, laborers, or laundrymen, or sought employment elsewhere.

Construction

Chinese immigrants built many of the flumes and roads in the mining districts. In Mariposa County in the 1850s, the Big Gap Flume was constructed by Chinese workers of the Golden Rock Water Company to cross Conrad Gulch and carry water in a gravity flow system to gold mining areas. This wooden flume, suspended by trestle works, was part of a 36-mile ditch supplying water for miners in Garrotte, Big Oak Flat, Moccasin Creek, and other nearby areas.⁴¹

Throughout California, there are stone walls that are said to have been built by Chinese American workers in the nineteenth century. They are usually made from uncut field stones, without the use of mortar. The stones were obtained by clearing the surrounding land for pasture or farming. The best-documented stone walls built by Chinese American workers are on the Quick Ranch in Mariposa County. They are built over rolling hills, rather than on level land. The fact that they are still standing today is evidence of the skill of the workers.⁴²

In 1852, at the same time anti-Chinese meetings were being held in the gold mining districts, Governor John McDougal, in his annual message to the California Legislature, gave the first official endorsement to employment of Chinese immigrants in projects to reclaim swamps and flooded lands.⁴³ Only a few Chinese immigrants worked on reclamation projects in the 1850s, but most of the workers who drained swamps and built levees in the 1860s and 1870s were Chinese Americans.

Many early roads in California were built by Chinese immigrants. In Del Norte County, Chinese Americans built trails and roads eastward

through dense forests and rugged mountains to the communities of Low Divide, Altaville, and Gasquet, and to the state of Oregon.⁴⁴ In Lake County, Chinese Americans built the Bartlett Toll Road through the hills east of Clear Lake.⁴⁵

Chinese immigrants also provided essential labor for development of the wine industry in California. They built and worked for small wineries like the John Swett Winery in Contra Costa County.⁴⁶ They were employed by Colonel Agostin Haraszthy in his Buena Vista Vineyards in Sonoma County, the first modern commercial vineyard in California, and later worked at the Beringer Brothers Winery in Napa County in 1876.⁴⁷ Chinese Americans also worked in vineyards in Southern California, and even constructed the buildings of the Brookside Winery in San Bernardino County from bricks they themselves made.⁴⁸

Since most of the early Chinese immigrants were from farming areas in Kuangtung Province in China, it was natural for them to become involved in agriculture in this country. Few of them were able to become independent farmers because most were not citizens and were prevented from owning land by local laws and restrictive covenants. Many had truck gardens in which they raised vegetables and fruit they sold door to door. Others were sharecroppers or tenant farmers, who leased land and paid the landlord part of their crop. Most were migrant farm laborers.

Chinese American farm labor was essential to the development of various crops which required special skill and care. Early Chinese immigrants were the only ones who could grow celery, and were the main labor force for the Earl Fruit Company in Orange County.⁴⁹ Development of the citrus industry in Riverside County was dependent on Chinese American workers.⁵⁰ Chinese American farmers grew strawberries, peanuts, rice, and other fruits and vegetables.⁵¹ Chinese American migrant farm workers harvested wheat, other grains, hops, apples, grapes, and pears and processed them for shipping.

One of the occupations in which Chinese Americans faced little competition was seaweed farming. This appears to involve the simple but laborious task of gathering edible seaweed from the rocks where it grows, drying it in the sun, and packing it for shipment. Actually, if more than one crop is desired, rocks must be prepared for the succeeding crop by burning off inedible seaweed. Otherwise, inedible seaweed will take over, and will prevent edible seaweed from growing back. Many of these seaweed farms were located along the coast of San Luis Obispo County.⁵²

Vegetable gardens were often located on land no one else wanted. One Chinese American farmer raised vegetables on an isolated island called Way-Aft-Whyle in Clear Lake, Lake County, in the 1880s.⁵³ All supplies had to be obtained from stores in a distant town, then transported by boat to the island. The vegetables raised had to be taken to shore, then carried all the way to town to be sold. Since the island is barely above water level, it could easily be inundated in storms.

In 1860, two discriminatory laws were passed in California. One forbade Chinese American children to attend public schools. The other required a special license to be purchased by Chinese American fishermen. It was called a license instead of a tax because unequal taxation was forbidden by law (in other words, it was illegal to tax Chinese fishermen and not Italian or Portuguese fishermen).⁵⁴

Viticulture

Agriculture

THE 1860s:

Discriminatory Legislation

In 1862, the first nationwide discriminatory legislation singling out Chinese (or Mongolians, as they were often called) and not vaguely directed at “foreign miners” or “aliens ineligible for citizenship” was passed. The United States Congress passed a “Cooly Traffic Law” prohibiting transportation and importation of coolies from China, except when immigration was certified as voluntary by United States consular agents.⁵⁵ Shortly afterward, the California legislature passed an act to protect free White labor against competition from Chinese coolie labor, and to discourage immigration of Chinese into the state of California.⁵⁶

A “police tax” law was passed, whereby all Mongolians 18 years or over, unless they had already paid a miner’s tax or were engaged in production of sugar, rice, coffee, or tea, had to pay a monthly personal tax of \$2.50. This was ruled unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court in 1863.⁵⁷

Manufacturing

Chinese immigrant labor was first employed on a large scale in the cigar industry in 1859. Soon, some Chinese Americans set up their own cigar factories. As early as 1866, half of the cigar factories were owned by Chinese Americans, and by 1870, more than 90 percent of the total labor force in the cigar industry was Chinese American. A vigorous anti-Chinese campaign in the early 1880s eliminated Chinese American labor in cigar-making factories.

The industry declined rapidly thereafter.⁵⁸

The woolen mills in California were founded on Chinese labor. White workers, except for foremen, were rare in the early 1860s.⁵⁹ Employment of Chinese Americans in shoe manufacturing can be attributed, in part, to their availability and their manual skill. Chinese Americans were first employed in shoe manufacturing in 1869, but worked in slipper factories prior to that time. By 1870, Chinese Americans owned a number of shoe factories.⁶⁰ The entry of Chinese American firms into clothing manufacturing dated from the late 1860s, and Chinese American firms and laborers soon dominated the ready-made clothing trade.⁶¹ In addition, numerous Chinese Americans were employed in the manufacturing of soap, candles, watches, brushes, brooms, glues, bricks, powder, whips, and paper bags.⁶²

Anti-Chinese elements in the labor union movement forced most Chinese Americans out of manufacturing. Union members charged that the less expensive labor of Chinese Americans was causing White unemployment and an economic depression. The real culprit was the transcontinental railroad, which brought unemployed European immigrants and cheap manufactured goods from the East Coast. Without reliable, efficient, less expensive Chinese labor, most of the factories went out of business because they could not compete with cheaper Eastern goods. Of the early manufacturers, only the garment industry has survived in California, and it continues to employ Chinese Americans and other minorities.⁶³

The Lumber Industry

There were Chinese American lumberjacks in Del Norte, Humboldt, and Mendocino counties, but racial prejudice soon forced them out of that occupation. Some remained in the lumber camps as cooks and laborers.⁶⁴

In Truckee in Nevada County, Chinese American men worked not only as lumberjacks, but also as mill hands, ice cutters, and teamsters. Most Chinese American women there were employed as railroad laborers.⁶⁵

Railroad Construction

The most impressive construction feat of Chinese Americans was the work done on the western section of the transcontinental railroad. The groundbreaking ceremony for the Central Pacific Railroad took place in Sacramento in 1863, but Chinese American workers were not hired until 1865. From 1863 to 1865, less than 50 miles of running track had been laid, and this was over relatively level land. The construction superintendent, J. H. Strobridge, was slow to hire Chinese workers, even though they had been employed on the California Central Railroad and were praised for their work by the *Sacramento Union* in 1858.⁶⁶

Chinese American workers built the section of the railroad through the foothills and over the high Sierra Nevada. They set explosive charges at precarious heights around Cape Horn in the Sierra. At Donner Summit, they worked and lived under the snow. They dug chimneys and air shafts, and lived by lantern light, tunneling their way from the camps to the portal of the tunnel to work long underground shifts. A labyrinth of passageways developed under the snow. The corridors were sometimes wide enough to allow two-horse sleds to move through freely, and were as much as 200 feet long. Through them, workmen traveled back and forth, digging, blasting, and removing the rubble. However, loss of life was heavy, for snow slides sometimes carried away whole camps.⁶⁷

In 1867, 2,000 Chinese American workers went on strike, but were unsuccessful in obtaining the same higher wages and shorter hours as White men.⁶⁸ On completion of the railroad, their work was acknowledged by E. B. Crocker in Sacramento, who said: "I wish to call to your minds that the early completion of this railroad we have built has been in large measure due to that poor, despised class of laborers called the Chinese, to the fidelity and industry they have shown."⁶⁹

It was at Auburn that the Central Pacific Railroad first began hiring Chinese Americans for railroad construction. The Chinese American community in Auburn had been founded by gold miners, and increased in size with the influx of railroad workers. The community has survived, along with two pioneering families, the Kee family and the Yue family. Charlie Yue is said to have been the first licensed Chinese American gold assayer in California.⁷⁰

Another town along the route of the railroad is Dutch Flat, where Theodore Judah and D. W. Strong made the original subscription to build the first transcontinental railroad.⁷¹ Little is mentioned of Chinese American residents of the town, who numbered 2,000 in 1860. The transcontinental railroad is often credited to Judah's "vision" without acknowledging that visions do not become realities without hard work, and that the railroad could not have been built at that time without Chinese American workers.⁷² One building remains of the Chinese American community in Dutch Flat, a vacant store constructed of rammed earth.

Borax was first discovered in Borax Lake in Lake County in 1856, by Dr. John Veatch. Four years later, he found borax in Little Borax Lake, four miles to the west. The California Borax Company operated at the big lake between 1864 and 1868, extracting 590 tons of borax. The operations caused a terrible stench, endured willingly only by Chinese Americans, who had been driven out of the gold mining areas and could not find other employment because of racial discrimination.

In 1868, the company moved all of its operations to Little Borax Lake. This small lake supplied the entire borax needs of the country from 1868 to 1873, the last year of operation, producing 140 tons valued at

Mining for Borax and Other Minerals

\$89,600. The discovery of enormous beds of the mineral in the deserts of California and Nevada ended all production in Lake County.⁷³

Chinese American workers were needed at Harmony Borax Works in Death Valley since they would work there year-around, even in the extreme heat of summer. In addition to gathering the dry borax, they also built roads across the desert and repaired them after storms.⁷⁴

Quicksilver (mercury) mines also employed Chinese Americans. They are known to have worked at the New Almaden Mine in Santa Clara County, at the quicksilver mine in San Luis Obispo County, and at the Sulphur Banks Quicksilver Mine in Lake County. Mining quicksilver was hazardous because of the noxious fumes, which could cause death or disability. The Sulphur Banks Quicksilver Mine contained an additional hazard in the underground hot springs, which flowed around the quicksilver deposits and could scald miners to death.⁷⁵

Economic Impacts

When the transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869, its backers expected it to bring prosperity to California. Instead, it brought an economic depression. The railroad flooded California's markets with cheap manufactured goods from the East Coast, and made many of California's fledgling manufacturing industries non-competitive. This situation was exacerbated when the railroad brought large numbers of unemployed European immigrants to California from the East Coast.⁷⁶

A scapegoat was needed, so the economic depression was blamed on unemployed Chinese American railroad workers. Actually, they were eagerly sought for employment in other parts of the country. In January 1870, 250 Chinese were employed by General John C. Walker for construction of the Houston and Texas Railroad.⁷⁷ In February, the Colorado legislature passed a joint resolution welcoming Chinese immigrants "to hasten the development and early prosperity of the territory by supplying the demand for cheap labor."⁷⁸

In June 1870, 75 Chinese Americans arrived in North Adams, Massachusetts to work in Calvin T. Simpson's shoe factory. In September, 68 Chinese Americans went to Belleville, New Jersey to work in the Passaic Steam Laundry. In 1872, 70 Chinese Americans arrived in Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania to work in the Beaver Falls Cutlery Company.⁷⁹ In 1873, Chinese American workers were brought to Indianapolis, Indiana, and to Augusta, Georgia to work on construction projects.⁸⁰ It appears that there were not enough Chinese American workers, for in 1870, 200 Chinese were brought from Hong Kong to work in the Arkansas Valley.⁸¹

While some of these workers were used as strikebreakers, it should be kept in mind that White unions would not allow Chinese Americans to join them at that time. Furthermore, White unions would not support strikes by Chinese American workers, nor would they agree to the principle of equal pay for equal work, regardless of race.⁸²

Rather than damaging the economy and bringing on a depression, which they were charged with doing, Chinese Americans greatly aided the development of the state of California. A full assessment of their contribution has not yet been made, but their contribution in land reclamation and railroad construction alone is impressive. Reclaimed lands, which originally cost \$1 to \$3 per acre, increased in value from \$20 up to \$100 per acre. In the mid-1870s, a former surveyor general of the state estimated that the increase in the value of the property in the state due to Chinese labor building the railroads and reclaiming tule lands was \$289,700,000.⁸³

Settlement Patterns

In Chinese, San Francisco was known as Dai Fou ("the big city"). Sacramento, which many Chinese miners passed through on the way to the northern mines, was known as Yi Fou ("the second city"). Marysville, which was the supply center for the northern mines, was called Sam Fou ("the third city"). In all, there were 286 cities or towns with such large Chinese American populations in 1870 that the names of these cities and towns were translated into Chinese characters phonetically. Wells Fargo Express Company agents had to learn these names in order to deliver mail and packages from China.⁸⁴

Early Chinese immigrants settled throughout California. By 1860, they had settled in all but five counties of the state, and by 1870, they lived in every county, working in a wide variety of occupations.⁸⁵ The first permanent Chinese settlement in Los Angeles was made in 1856, when three men decided to stay there. Within four years, they had been joined by at least 16 others.⁸⁶ In the 1860s, Chinese workers were brought to Santa Barbara County from Canton by Colonel W. W. Hollister to work on his Goleta Valley estate and to serve as bus boys, chefs, and waiters in his hotel.⁸⁷

Segregation of Chinese Americans began in the mining districts, where Chinese Americans were forced to live in the least desirable sections of towns. In Marysville, Yreka, and elsewhere, Chinese Americans could live only along the river, which was subject to flooding. In Mendocino, they could live only on the swampy headlands next to the ocean. In Fiddletown in Amador County, there was no undesirable section of town, so a natural boundary, a stream that ran across the main street, was used to divide the Chinese American from the White section of town. While some White businesses were allowed to locate in the Chinese section, no Chinese American homes or businesses were permitted in the White section of Fiddletown.⁸⁸

Once segregated, Chinese American communities were often denied public services available to other taxpayers. By the 1860s, the city of Ventura in Ventura County had a community of about 200 Chinese Americans. Recent evidence has been uncovered to show that they were denied use of Ventura's water and sewer facilities. They probably could not rely



Weaverville Chinese American Family, Trinity County [circa 1890]

on the municipal fire department either, for in 1876 they established their own fire brigade with a two-wheeled cart and 100 feet of hose. This company was active for at least 30 years, and was often mentioned as being first on the scene.⁸⁹

THE 1870s: Racial Violence

One of the most savage and brutal events involving Chinese Americans was the Los Angeles Massacre on October 24, 1871. The incident began with a quarrel between Chinese, who shot at each other. The shooting attracted a large crowd of White spectators. When one of the spectators was accidentally shot and killed, the crowd began to riot and to threaten any Chinese Americans in the vicinity. Homes and businesses were looted. It has been estimated that the loss to Chinese Americans in money was from \$30,000 to \$70,000. Later, the coroner's jury reported that 19 Chinese Americans had died at the hands of a mob on October 24, 1871, and that only one of them was implicated in the shooting of the White man. The leaders of the mob escaped punishment.⁹⁰

A series of fires destroyed Chinese American communities in Yreka (1871), Chico (1873), and Weaverville (1874).⁹¹ In 1874, a meeting was held in Fresno to prevent Chinese Americans from moving into the White section of town.⁹² Anti-Chinese riots in San Francisco began at a meeting of the Workingmen's Party and lasted three days, during which Chinese American property was looted and burned and several Chinese were killed.⁹³

After a White rancher was murdered, allegedly by a Chinese, Rocklin's Chinese American buildings were pulled down and set afire along with buildings at China Gardens on the outskirts of town, and the people were given just a few hours to leave town. Because of the Rocklin incident in Placer County, Chinese Americans were also expelled from Loomis, Penryn, Grass Valley, and other nearby towns; they fled to Folsom for safety.⁹⁴

The Anti-Chinese Movement

Chinese Americans who faced discrimination in other occupations often set up laundry businesses to earn a living. Chinese laundries at first faced no competition, since washing and cooking were considered women's occupations unsuitable for self-respecting White men. However, as laundries provided a steady income, many Chinese American laundrymen prospered. Men of other nationalities began to reconsider the laundry business, and set up competing establishments. In 1876, the Anti-Chinese and Workingmen's Protective Laundry Association was incorporated in San Jose. Subsequently, many laundries, like the Hi Chung Laundry in Elmira, Solano County, went out of business.⁹⁵

In San Francisco, a series of discriminatory local laws was passed in the early 1870s. The Cubic Air Ordinance regulated the size of living and working quarters. The Sidewalk Ordinance forbade the use of poles, such as Chinese traditionally used, to carry bundles. The Queue Ordinance required Chinese in jail to cut their queues (their long braided hair), even though they would not be able to return to China without them. A series of laundry ordinances required Chinese American laundries to pay higher taxes than other laundries, and regulated the types of buildings in which laundry businesses could be housed.

Enactment of these local laws was followed by a series of lawsuits by Chinese Americans who succeeded in overturning all except the Sidewalk Ordinance. The most celebrated lawsuit was the Yick Wo Laundry Case, whose owner Lee Yick successfully challenged the validity of a law that would have been used to drive the Chinese out of the laundry busi-

ness. In addition, his lawsuit established the principle that a law is discriminatory, even if its wording is not discriminatory, if it is applied in a discriminatory manner.⁹⁶

Some discriminatory legislation was challenged by White businessmen who needed Chinese American workers. When the California Legislature passed a law prohibiting corporations holding state charters from employing "any Chinese or Mongolian," the president of Sulphur Bank Mine in Lake County defied the law and had it nullified.⁹⁷

A law requiring the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to increase the size of the police force was passed in 1878. However, special police were still needed to supplement the regular force, and could be hired to protect businesses and property throughout the city except in the Chinese Quarter. The new law prohibited the employment of special police within the Chinese Quarter, the boundaries of which were set by police commissioners.⁹⁸ One of the results of this law was to encourage the growth of tongs, providing protection otherwise lacking.

Establishment of boundaries for the so-called "Chinese Quarter" shows that Chinese Americans who at first were able to live throughout the city had, by 1878, been segregated into one section of the city. The fact that boundaries were to be established from time to time by police commissioners suggests that police may have had a role in enforcing segregation. Prohibition of special police officers for the Chinese Quarter indicates a denial of equal or sufficient law enforcement.

Continuous agitation by anti-Chinese organizations and labor unions led to a congressional hearing on the question of Chinese immigration in San Francisco in 1876. Although congressional committees recommended prohibition of Chinese immigration, this could not be done until the Burlingame Treaty between China and the United States was amended.

The Burlingame Treaty was amended in 1880. After steadily mounting agitation, the Chinese Exclusion Law was passed in 1882 by the United States Congress, and signed by President Chester A. Arthur. Under this law, Chinese laborers, unskilled or skilled, were excluded from entering the United States for 10 years. Only merchants, diplomats, tourists, students, and teachers were allowed to enter the country. Under these categories, professional people, such as herbalists, were sometimes considered as laborers. Merchants could bring their wives to this country, but laborers could not. Chinese American workers were forced to decide whether they should return to China, or remain in this country to work and possibly never see their families again.⁹⁹

Enactment of the Exclusion Law was followed by expulsion of Chinese Americans from various localities. Before 1885, for example, Chinese American miners faced hostility in Humboldt County despite the amount of Foreign Miners' taxes they had paid that contributed to the economy of the country. Before 1885, restaurants in Eureka, the county seat, advertised in local newspapers that they did not employ Chinese help. In addition, there was considerable agitation in the county for the Chinese Exclusion Law. Finally, on February 6, 1885, an event occurred that provided a pretext for moving all Chinese Americans out of the county and shipping them bodily to San Francisco, along with as much of their property as they could pack in 48 hours.

On February 6, Councilman David Kendal was accidentally shot and killed, allegedly by Chinese Americans. Instead of punishing the guilty,

THE 1880s:

Exclusion

Expulsion

White citizens decided that all Chinese Americans must leave the country, never to return. Chinese American merchants lost the goods in their stores since they could not pack them in time, and Chinese American families lost their household furnishings. The steamer *Humboldt* carried 135 to San Francisco, and the steamer *City of Chester* took 175. When this news reached the Chinese Six Companies, they brought suit against the City of Eureka for \$6,000,000 in damages they claimed the Chinese Americans from Eureka had suffered. After several months, the suit was concluded with the ruling that the Chinese Americans should be compensated for property damage (there was none) but not for business losses, which were extensive.¹⁰⁰

Del Norte County, on the coast of California north of Humboldt County, followed suit. Citizens of Del Norte County had no particular pretext of their own, but on January 31, 1886, they expelled virtually all Chinese Americans from the county, and sent them by boat to San Francisco.¹⁰¹

Around the time of these expulsions, a series of fires occurred throughout the state, some of suspicious origin. In 1881, buildings of the Chinese American community in Dutch Flat burned a second time, causing a loss of about \$30,000 and some 60 buildings.¹⁰² In 1886, a group of 30 masked men from Wheatland, Yuba County, raided Chinese American workers on H. Roddan's ranch, beat 11 hop pickers, then burned down the Chinese American bunkhouse on C. D. Wood's ranch.¹⁰³ In May 1887, a fire destroyed San Jose's Chinese American community under suspicious circumstances. Newspapers on the following day noted that the fire had started in three places at once and that water tanks were empty at the time. Three months earlier, the San Jose City Council had discussed the abatement of Chinatown, and had directed their attorneys to find legal ways of doing so.¹⁰⁴ About a week after the San Jose fire, a fire destroyed about \$50,000 worth of property in Fresno's Chinese American community. There was a high wind and no water.¹⁰⁵ In October 1887, fire almost totally destroyed Chico's Chinese American community, and "to cap the disaster, the firehose was chopped in four places during the conflagration, evidently by persons who hated the Chinese at this time."¹⁰⁶

In 1888, Congress passed the Scott Act, which barred re-entry of Chinese laborers to the United States, even if they left the country only temporarily.¹⁰⁷ Many men who had gone back to China to visit their families and had left property and business ventures in this country were prevented from returning. As a result of the Chinese Exclusion Law, the Scott Act, and racial discrimination, Chinese immigration to the United States showed a 4% decline between 1880 and 1890.¹⁰⁸ Before 1880, Chinese immigration to the United States had increased steadily.

Ironically, one of the results of the Exclusion Law and the Scott Act was a shortage of Chinese American workers. Since there were not enough of them to fill the demand, they were able to obtain a higher rate of pay.¹⁰⁹

The 1890s:

The Gay Nineties were not carefree years for Chinese Americans or their relatives in China. In 1892, Congress passed the Geary Act, which extended the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882 for another 10 years, and also added the requirement that all Chinese living in the United States obtain certificates of residence. Insufficient effort was made to explain this requirement to people whose understanding of English was limited, nor was the regulation sufficiently publicized. Raids by immigration authorities were conducted on various Chinese American communities, and people without residence certificates were held for deportation.¹¹⁰

Fires and racial violence forced many Chinese Americans to leave the countryside, and may have encouraged some of them to return to China. In 1893 alone, most buildings of the second Chinese American community in Riverside were destroyed by fire.¹¹¹ Five hundred Chinese American men were forced by terrorists to leave their jobs in nurseries and vineyards around Fresno.¹¹² There were anti-Chinese riots in Redlands, San Bernardino County, by 400 Whites, and the National Guard had to be called in.¹¹³ The final result of discriminatory laws and racial violence during the 1880s was a 37% decrease in California's Chinese American population.¹¹⁴

The Chinese American Cemetery in Nevada City, Nevada County, is an important historic site of the 1890s. Among all segregated cemeteries that were once so numerous throughout California (since Chinese Americans were not allowed to be buried in White cemeteries), the Nevada City Chinese American Cemetery is one of the few which still has a burner for paper money and other offerings, and parts of its original fence and gate. It is the only one with a monument to a single individual, who died in 1891 and who must have been quite wealthy and influential. The name on the monument has been defaced by vandals. The size and elaborateness of the monument indicates that this was not intended as a temporary burial site, but as a permanent resting place for the deceased.

After the turn of the century, discrimination against Chinese Americans culminated in two acts, the quarantine of San Francisco's Chinatown, and indefinite extension of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. The reason San Francisco's Chinatown was quarantined was that the body of a Chinese laborer was found, and it was suspected that he had died of bubonic plague. While the cause of death was still undetermined, a cordon was placed around Chinatown, and no Chinese American was allowed to leave the area bounded by California, Kearny, Broadway, and Stockton streets. This restricted the freedom of movement of people, some of whom were American citizens. It caused them many hardships, for they had difficulty in obtaining goods and services from people outside Chinatown. There was a shortage of food, and prices increased sharply. Chinese American businessmen faced a loss of income, and workers a loss of wages. Finally, after three and a half months, it was found that there were no cases of bubonic plague within Chinatown. This lengthy quarantine of Chinatown was motivated more by racist images of Chinese as carriers of disease than by actual evidence of the presence of bubonic plague.¹¹⁵

Chinese American pioneers lived throughout the state of California, wherever there was a chance to earn a living. But they were driven off mining claims, terrorized by vigilantes, removed on short notice from two counties and shipped to San Francisco. Once in San Francisco, they could not live where they pleased, but had to crowd together in one section of the city, the so-called "Chinese Quarter," later referred to as Chinatown. The quarantine represented the final step in segregation of San Francisco's Chinese Americans. The symbolism of the rope cordon was carried forth for four decades as an invisible boundary, beyond which Chinese Americans dared not pass without the risk of being insulted and even physically abused.

The Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882 was renewed in 1892 and 1902, and then extended indefinitely in 1904.¹¹⁶ It prevented Chinese Americans who were not merchants from bringing their families to this country. Since there were far more unmarried Chinese American men than women here, and since the anti-miscegenation laws prevented Chinese American men from marrying White women, it condemned the men to bachelorhood.

THE 1900s:

Quarantine and its Aftereffects

Recovery from San Francisco Earthquake

These events were capped by a natural disaster, the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906. Virtually all buildings in Chinatown were destroyed, and efforts were made to relocate Chinese Americans from the downtown area to less desirable portions of the city. These efforts failed, and thus represent a turning point in the fortunes of Chinese Americans. Destruction of birth certificates in the earthquake enabled some Chinese Americans to claim citizenship by reason of birth in this country. When the offices of the *Chung Sai Yat Pao* in San Francisco were destroyed, the newspaper moved to Oakland. Its editor, Dr. Ng Poon Chew, went on to become a spokesman and advocate of civil rights for the Chinese American community.¹¹⁷

When the offices of the Precita Canning Co. in San Francisco, whose officials and board of directors were all of Chinese ancestry, were destroyed in the earthquake, the company changed its name to the Bay Side Canning Co. and relocated to Alviso in Santa Clara County. It had been founded in 1890 by Sai Yin Chew, whose son, Thomas Foon Chew, later increased the size of its operations to include canning plants in Alviso, Isleton, and Mayfield, and extensive farm lands in the Sacramento Delta. Commodities canned at the Alviso plant were spinach, asparagus, cherries, apricots, plums, peaches, pears, tomatoes, catsup, tomato sauce, hot sauce, tomato puree, fish sauce, fruits for salad, vegetables for salad, and later, fruit cocktail. The Isleton Plant canned mainly spinach and asparagus. The Bay Side Canning Co. was one of the largest canning companies in the early twentieth century, even surpassing Del Monte at one time.¹¹⁸

One of the unique institutions of San Francisco's Chinatown was the Chinese American Telephone Exchange. In 1891, the first public telephone pay station was installed in Chinatown. In 1894, a small switchboard was set up to serve subscribers to the telephone system. Telephone operators knew each subscriber by name, so telephone numbers were not necessary. They also knew the address and occupations of subscribers so they could distinguish between two subscribers of the same name. In addition, they had to know several Chinese dialects besides English. Although the offices of the exchange were destroyed by the earthquake, they were rebuilt afterward, and remained in operation until 1949.¹¹⁹

Though the ambitions of many Chinese Americans were thwarted by racism and employment discrimination, these people did not give up. For example, on September 21, 1909, young Chinese American inventor and aviator Fung Joe Guey, circled through the air for 20 minutes back of Piedmont, Alameda County, in a biplane of his own manufacture, embodying his own ideas in aeroplane manufacture.¹²⁰

The main focus of this Chinese American Survey is on nineteenth-century Chinese American historic sites. A few twentieth-century sites were included for continuity. Following are a few of the significant events in twentieth-century Chinese American history:

- After the revolutionary uprising of October 10, 1911, which led to the establishment of a republic in China, many Chinese Americans went back to China with hopes of a bright future there, free from racism, but many others remained here.
 - Some Chinese Americans served in the U.S. Armed Forces in World War I, and became heroes. On June 13, 1919, Sing Kee returned home to San Jose after receiving the Distinguished Service Cross for bravery in action with the 77th or "Liberty" Division in the Argonne Forest. He was given a hero's welcome, along with Jue Tong, another Chinese American war hero.¹²¹ Two important historic sites from this period are the town of Locke and the immigration station on Angel Island.
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- Discrimination against Asian immigrants continued in the 1920s. In 1924, the Immigration Exclusion Act was passed, which stated that all immigrants “ineligible for citizenship” were denied admission to the United States.¹²² Two historic sites from the twenties are the Confucius Church and Community Center in El Centro, Imperial County, and the Wong Mansion in Stockton, San Joaquin County.
 - Finally in the 1930s, restrictions began to ease. In 1930, Congress passed an act providing for admission of Chinese wives who were married to American citizens before May 26, 1924. Then in 1935, more than 15 years after the end of World War I, Public Law 162 granted several hundred Asian veterans who served in the United States Armed Forces during World War I the right to apply for United States citizenship through naturalization.¹²³ Two important historic sites from this period are the House of China in San Diego and the Suey Hing Benevolent Society building in Watsonville, Santa Cruz County.
 - On December 13, 1943, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the momentous “Act to Repeal the Chinese Exclusion Acts, to Establish Quotas, and for Other Purposes.” Although the Chinese Exclusion Acts were thus repealed, it was not until 1965 that national-origin quotas were abolished.¹²⁴



Salinas Confucius Church, Monterey County

Footnotes

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 5. F. Soule, *The Annals of San Francisco and History of California* (1855), pp. 414-415. A copy of their contract is in the Wells Fargo History Room, San Francisco.
 6. *Chinese Historical Society Bulletin*, Vol. 2, No. 5 (May 1967).
 7. Mildred Hoover, et al., *Historic Spots in California* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), pp. 41-42.
 8. Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 83.
 9. *Ibid.*
 10. Thomas W. Chinn, ed., *A History of the Chinese in California: A Syllabus* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1969), p. 72.
 11. *Ibid.*, p. 70, and William Tung, *The Chinese in America* (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1974), p. 9.
 12. William Hoy, *Kong Chow Temple* (San Francisco: Kong Chow Temple, 1939), p. 3.
 13. Mariann Kaye Wells, *Chinese Temples in California* (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1971), p. 20.
 14. Corinne K. Hoexter, *From Canton to California* (New York: Four Winds Press, 1976), p. 8.
 15. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
 16. Interview with Lorraine Hee (1978).
 17. The classic *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (San-kuo Chi-yen-i) tells the story of Kuan Yu.
 18. The Taoist temple in Auburn is said to have had an ordained priest.
 19. There is documentary evidence of "bomb day" festivals in Yreka, Marysville, Nevada City, and other towns throughout California.
 20. This was the Constitution of 1804.
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 22. In 1854, the California Supreme Court declared that the 1850 statute prohibiting Negroes and Indians from testifying for or against a White person applied also to Chinese.
 23. Him Mark Lai, "Roots and Linkages: A Journey Through the Pearl River Delta," *East/West*, April 16 and 23, 1980.
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24. "Chinese Fisheries in California," *Chamber's Journal*, Vol. L (January 21, 1954), p. 48.
25. Robert Alan Nash, "The Chinese Shrimp Fishery in California" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1973), p. 182.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 203-204, and interview with Frank Quan (1978).
27. *Del Norte* (Del Norte Chamber of Commerce, n.d.).
28. Chinn, p. 11.
29. Arthur Waley, *The Opium War Through Chinese Eyes* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958).
30. Chinn, p. 15.
31. In 1852, Senator George Tingley introduced a bill in the California Legislature to make enforcement of labor contracts possible, but this bill was defeated.
32. Interview with Willard Jue, pharmacist (1980).
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34. Laurence Sickman and Alexander Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1956), p. 363 ff.
35. Chinn, p. 31.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
37. Ping Chiu, *Chinese Labor in California, 1850-1880* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1967), p. 14.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
39. In April 1855, the California Legislature passed an Act to Discourage the Immigration to This State of Persons Who Cannot Become Citizens Thereof, whereby the master, owner, or consignee of any ship was required to pay \$50 for each of the passengers who were ineligible for American citizenship.
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43. Barth, p. 136.
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46. Interview with Peg Plummer (1980).
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49. Jim Sleeper, *Orange County Almanac* (New York: Ocus Press, 1974), p. 37.

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 51. U.S. Census (1880).
 52. Interview with Wong Sing (1980).
 53. Mauldin, p. 19.
 54. Both laws were passed on April 28, 1860; the latter was entitled "An Act for the Protection of Fisheries."
 55. Lowe, p. 23.
 56. Tung, p. 12.
 57. Chinn, p. 24.
 58. Chiu, pp. 122-126.
 59. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
 60. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
 61. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-97.
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 83. *Report of the Joint Special Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration* (44th Congress, 2nd Session, 1876-1877, Senate Report 689), p. 54.
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 87. Walter A. Tompkins, *Chinatown, Green Tea and Gunpowder*.
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 94. Roy Ruhkala, "History of Rocklin, California" (1975). Cf. accounts in the *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, September 18-29, 1877.
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 97. Helen Rocca Goss, *The Life and Death of a Quicksilver Mine* (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1958), p. 75.
 98. Tung, p. 15.
 99. Tung, pp. 16-17.
 100. "Humboldt County One of Few Where Chinese Do Not Live," newspaper clipping from local newspaper (unidentified), in Clarke Memorial Museum.
 101. Lynwood Carranco, "The Chinese in Humboldt County, California," *Journal of the West*, Vol. XII, No. 1 (January 1973), p. 153, says that this did not happen until April 1886, but the *Del Norte County Historical Society Bulletin* of March 21, 1978 gives the date as January 31, 1886. Carranco's article quotes many primary sources, but its intent is to justify the expulsion. Instead of dealing with the rights, points of view, and losses of the Chinese Americans involved, the article focuses on what might have happened if they had not been expelled.
 102. *History of Placer County, California*, p. 380.
 103. Wells, p. 54.
 104. An article headlined "The Common Council - Interesting Meeting of the Committee of the Whole - The Chinatown Abomination" appeared in the *San Jose Daily Times* March 9, 1887, two months before the fire that destroyed the Chinese-American community.
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105. *San Jose Daily Times*, May 17, 1887.
106. Book, p. 56.
107. Tung, p. 18.
108. U.S. Census Records, 1880 and 1890.
109. Saxton, *Enemy*, p. 211.
110. See article by Tom Atchley, "What Happened to the Chinese?" in the San Bernardino County Museum, Redlands; this situation was common throughout the state.
111. Patterson, p. 196.
112. Saxton, *Enemy*, p. 230.
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115. Joan B. Trauner, "The Chinese as Medical Scapegoats in San Francisco, 1870-1905," *California History*, Vol. LVII, No. 1 (Spring 1978), pp. 70-87.
116. Tung, p. 23.
117. Hoexter, p. 212.
118. James R. Chew, "The Bay Side Canning Co., Alviso, Calif.," *The Trailblazer*, pp. 5-7.
119. Interview with Bessie Loo, 1980.
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SITES



Double Springs Courthouse

Double Springs, Calaveras County

Double Springs was an important mining center during the early Gold Rush period. In 1850, Double Springs was named the county seat for Calaveras County, but its honor as the county's governmental center ended in July 1851. Double Springs is a ghost town today, having suffered the same fate as many other mining towns in the Mother Lode.

Calaveras County's first courthouse still stands in Double Springs. This building measures 13 feet by 18 feet. The building material is camphor wood imported from China in October 1849. The building originally consisted of several individual sections, placed end to end. Only one section remains today. The front of the building is asymmetrical, and features one door, three feet wide, placed to the left of the center.

The small size of the courthouse may indicate that the camphor wood was pre-cut for ease of transport. The segmentation of the building, the repeated paneling, the lack of windows, and the use of doors with window openings suggest a traditional Chinese influence.

The courthouse has been moved about 10 feet from its original site, and a protective roof has been constructed over it.

The significance of the Double Springs Courthouse for Chinese American history lies in its evidence of friendly trade relations between the West Coast of the United States and China. This initial open welcome for Chinese goods and merchants was influential in inducing many Chinese to immigrate to this country.

The discovery of gold in California drew a great influx of people, and brought about an urgent need for additional government and commercial buildings.

However, there was a scarcity of building materials. Some of this acute shortage was alleviated by importing materials from China, a country with which American merchant ships from the East Coast had been trading for almost a century.

As long as Chinese goods and people were meeting needs that could not be fulfilled elsewhere, they were welcomed; but when either Chinese materials or people were perceived as competition, protectionist measures were passed. For example, an ordinance was later passed in San Francisco forbidding importation of Chinese granite for use in construction of buildings.

Double Springs is a California State Historical Landmark.



Mo Dai Miu (Temple of Kuan Kung)

Mendocino, Mendocino County

The Temple of Kuan Kung is located in the town of Mendocino. This simple, rectangular building is sheathed in shiplap redwood siding, with a gable roof. It is painted red with green trim. Steep stairs lead to a porch extending the length of the front facade, which has a central door with a large window on either side. Over the door is a red sign, giving the name of the temple in gold letters.

The interior is divided into two rooms, an altar room in front and a priest's room in back. The altar room is simply furnished, with two altar tables against the back wall, one unpainted wooden bench on either side of the room, and a stove for burning paper offerings near the door. On the back wall is a painting of Kuan Kung. The altar tables hold incense burners, candle holders, vases, containers of fortune-telling sticks, dishes, and offerings.

The building is situated on a hill overlooking the Pacific Ocean and the site of Mendocino's early Chinese American community.

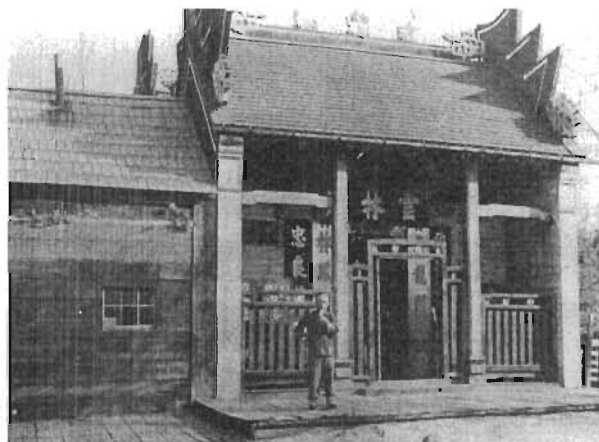
The Mo Dai Miu (or Temple of Kuan Kung) in Mendocino is a rare structure, for it appears to be one of only a few remaining buildings relating to the early Chinese pioneers. There is no mention of Chinese Americans in the 1880s *History of Mendocino County*, even though there were 346 of them in the county according to the 1880 Census. Oral history accounts tell of many more Chinese in the lumber industry who were not recorded by the census.

This Taoist temple is still maintained in continuous worship by the great-grandchildren of one of its founders, Joe Lee (or Chong Sung). According to his descendants, Joe Lee set out from China in the 1850s in one of seven ships, five of which were lost at sea. The ship he was on landed in Mendocino, and Joe Lee became one of the early settlers in the county.

The site for the temple appears to have been chosen according to the Chinese rules of geomancy. It was placed on a hill overlooking the early Chinese American community, on the swampy headlands of Mendocino. The two large windows on the building's facade look out over the ocean the Chinese crossed. Thus, the picture of Kuan Kung faces the ocean. On the walls inside the temple are written thanks for a safe journey here, and prayers for a safe return.

Kuan Kung is sometimes known as the god of war, but this designation is misleading. Kuan Yu (later called Kuan Kung) was an actual person who lived in China during the Three Kingdoms Period, in the third century A.D. He was a military leader renowned for his courage, loyalty, and adherence to lofty ideals. He was even known to have sacrificed his personal success when that would have required him to compromise his principles. These qualities are the reasons that he was venerated after his death and became so popular among the early Cantonese who came to this country.

The Temple of Kuan Kung, listed as a California State Historical Landmark, is the last remaining Chinese house of worship on the north coast of California. Documented history dates the structure to 1883, but oral history suggests that the temple was built in 1854.



Won Lim Temple

Weaverville, Trinity County

The exterior of the Won Lim Temple in Weaverville has two parallel gables and ornate cornices, decorated with carvings of fish and dragons. The facade is painted to resemble the blue tiles and stone of traditional Chinese temples. The wooden building consists of the temple area, an adjacent waiting room for worshippers, and two small rooms that were the priest's quarters. Entrance to the temple is across a large porch and through two large doors. Just beyond the threshold are two high wooden false doors or "spirit screens."

The temple is of the Taoist religion, and the two main gods worshipped there are Bok Aie (god of the north) and Kuan Kung, whose statues are on the central section of the main altar.

The temple is surrounded by trees, in an area of scattered residential dwellings. It is, however, close to the former Chinese section of Weaverville, where ruins of three Chinese stores still remain.

The Chinese first came to Trinity County in search of gold. By 1880, there were 1,951 Chinese Americans in Trinity County (mostly miners) and three known Taoist temples, two in Weaverville and one in Lewiston. Today, only the Won Lim Miu in Weaverville remains. It is still being used by the Moon Lee family and occasional worshippers who visit the town.

The Won Lim Miu, which was originally built about 1852 or 1853, burned down June 28, 1873, but was rebuilt and dedicated the following year. The new temple was constructed according to custom, except that in China the temples are built of stone and tile, whereas this temple was built of wood. The front of the temple is painted to resemble tile. Roof ornaments are much more elaborate than on any other

Chinese temple in California, although the exterior is more traditional than the simple utilitarian structures of other extant Chinese temples in California.

The statues of 12 gods and two goddesses housed in the temple were made in Weaverville of local clay, painted in gold, dressed, and ornamented with horse-hair. The door guardian was also made of local clay. Other objects in the temple may have been imported from China.

Of significance is the mountainous location of this temple. Temples and statues had to be made of local materials because of the difficulties of transport. Being cut off from easy communication with other Chinese American communities, the Weaverville Chinese Americans chose to build a more traditional temple, motivated probably by homesickness as well as religious sentiment. The elaborateness of the temple also indicates an intention to establish a permanent or long-term community.

The Weaverville temple is now a State Historic Park and a State Historical Landmark.

China Camp

Point San Pedro, Marin County

China Camp contains the following historic structures:

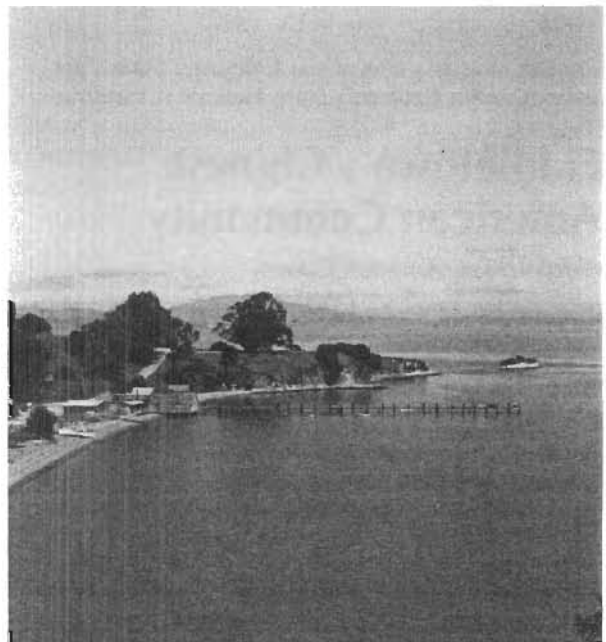
1. The shrimp drying shed is a long, narrow, composite building with an original brick shed (c. 1880-90), which was used for drying shrimp, and a redwood frame addition off the north end (c. 1910-20). The entire building measures 10' x 34', and has a low, gabled roof with corrugated metal covering.
2. The shrimp shed was constructed with redwood planking on pine pilings over the tide line (c. 1870-90). Originally, the gabled roof, as with all the historic buildings, was covered with split redwood shingles. Now, corrugated metal covers the roof. Overall dimensions are 40' x 25'.
3. The pier, 305' long, has been lengthened since the early days of the camp. The original shed located at the shore end of the pier was about 35' wider and 75' longer than the existing wood frame shed (which has a recent corrugated metal roof).
4. The 1860s-1880 shrimp grinding shed's frame and siding remnants are attached to the existing camp store, which measures 34' x 45', and has double sash and casement windows, a pier foundation, and redwood plank frame and siding (board and batten). The power train and blower apparatus are still in the rafters of the shrimp grinding shed.
5. Of two floating houses (1900), now beached, one building, 18' x 41', has a pier foundation,

board and batten siding, and a low gable hip roof. The other, 29' x 35', has a round pile foundation, lap siding, and a mansard and gable roof combination.

6. Several additional residences, an old shrimp drying platform, and the remains of three redwood sampans sunk in the mud in the adjoining cove are other evidence of Chinese American occupation in the China Camp area.

Chinese fishermen began fishing for shrimp in California probably around the mid-1860s. As the enterprise grew in the 1870s and 1880s, numerous villages or "shrimp camps" were established on the shores of both San Francisco and San Pablo bays. China Camp was one of the largest and longest-lived of these camps. The 1870 Census Records list 77 male Chinese shrimp fishermen living there in 15 dwelling units. The population grew considerably; the 1880 Census Records list 469 inhabitants, of whom 368 were directly associated with the shrimp fishery. Records also indicate that the village had three general stores, one marine supply store, and a barber shop; individuals included an instructor in Joss worship, a teacher, and a physician. Shrimp fishing was a long-established industry in China, and many immigrant Chinese arrived with knowledge of fishing and preservation techniques necessary to develop a shrimping enterprise in California.

Chinese fishermen used traditional boats, such as sampans and junks, for fishing. There even seems to have been a small Chinese American boat-building industry in California, for junks and sampans constructed of California redwood have been found.



Fishermen used traditional cone-shaped nets, which they periodically dried and mended on the bare hillsides surrounding the fishing village.

The nets were fastened to poles stuck in the ground beneath the water along the shore. Fishermen in boats emptied them and brought the shrimp in. The shrimp were then cooked and spread out under the sun to dry. When dried, their shells were cracked by a fisherman who tread on piles of them with special wooden clogs. The shrimp with cracked shells were tossed in a shrimp-winning machine, invented in China before the birth of Christ. This machine separated the shrimp by size, and also separated them from their shells, which were shipped back to China for fertilizer.

In the early days, there was little demand for fresh shrimp in the United States, since it was not part of the average diet. For this reason, most shrimp caught were dried and sent back to China. Later, in the 1880s and 1890s, when the demand for fresh shrimp grew in California and the shrimp industry reached its zenith in production and manpower, Chinese American shrimp fishermen came under increasing pressure from other fishing groups. Discriminatory legislation was enacted that forbade traditional Chinese fishing techniques, limited the fishing season, prohibited the export of dried shrimp, and restricted the size of the catch. As the population of China Camp dwindled, only the Quan family persisted and adapted to new regulations and changing technology. Today, Frank Quan, the descendant of an early Chinese American shrimp fisherman, continues to operate from the last pier and buildings standing at China Camp, the last operating shrimp camp in the state.

China Camp is a unit of the California State Park System and a California State Historical Landmark.

Fiddletown's Chinese American Community

Fiddletown, Amador County

In the early 1850s and 1860s, Fiddletown was the trading center for a number of rich placer mining areas in Amador County such as American Flat, American Hill, French Flat, and Loafer Flat. Besides local mining and trading operations, a steam-powered sawmill was built in 1853 to provide lumber from local forests.

Chinese immigrants first came to Fiddletown to seek gold. Although it is said that Fiddletown had a Chinese American population of between 3,000 and 12,000 and that it once was second only to San Francisco's Chinatown, the U.S. Census records do



not substantiate this. The Chinese American population dwindled due to the decrease in mining activity and racism, including enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882. By 1900, only 11 Chinese Americans lived in Fiddletown.

Evidence of Fiddletown's Chinese American community is represented by three historic buildings:

1. The herb shop (Chew Kee Store) is a one-story, rectangular rammed-earth building, facing east. It has wooden gables and a corrugated metal roof. Earlier photographs show a higher pitch to the roof, which was covered with wood shingles. The facade has two windows and a door, all with iron shutters. The windows are double-hung, with 16 panes (some with original glass), wooden sills, and iron shutters on both sides and above. There are no other windows. The west side of the building has a door and several wooden additions. In back are a well and an outhouse.
2. The gambling hall is a one-story, rectangular brick building, facing west. It has wooden gables and a corrugated metal roof. The facade has only one door and a small window, both covered with iron shutters. There are no other doors or windows.
3. The general store is a two-story, rectangular brick building, facing west. It is painted white and has wooden gables and a corrugated metal roof. The facade has only one tall door on the ground floor and two windows on the second floor. There is a small door on the north side of the building, and a larger one on the east side. All doors and windows have iron shutters. The general store may also have served as a religious temple at one time.

Although the general store and gambling hall are both vacant, the Chew Kee Store is currently a museum.

The Chew Kee Store has a long, prestigious history. It was founded as a herb shop by the famous herb doctor, Fan-chung Yee, who came from China to care for Chinese miners around 1850. He had offices in Sacramento, Fiddletown, and Virginia City, Nevada, and was joined in his practice by his second son, T. Wah-hing. Both effected many famous cures, and took care of the sick of all races and nationalities.

About 1870, the herb shop was turned over to a man known only by his store name, Chew Kee, who lived in the store with his wife. At this time, the store sold groceries, herbs, and other supplies. Chew Kee ran the gambling hall across the street, which was a social center for Chinese residents.

Around 1911, Chew Kee and his wife returned to China, leaving their extensive property holdings to their adopted son, Chow-you Fong (also known as Jimmie Chow). Jimmie Chow worked as a blacksmith, lumberjack, butcher, and carpenter. He died in 1965, the last Chinese American resident of Fiddletown.



L. T. Sue Herb Co.

Hanford, Kings County

China Alley is a short street in the city of Hanford which served as the major center for Chinese Americans in Kings County. Chinese Americans who settled in the Hanford area were employed in railroad construction and the production of fruits and vegetables in the San Joaquin Valley.

The Taoist Temple, an historic property listed on the National Register of Historic Places, is located in China Alley. Several of the brick buildings along China Alley stand vacant today including the L. T. Sue Herb Co. shop.

The L. T. Sue Herb Co. was the first and longest surviving herb company in Hanford. The two-story brick building is characterized by symmetry, engaged piers at the corners of the building, and a wooden second-floor balcony. The verticality of the piers is offset by the double border of bricks along the flat roof. The second floor has a central door, flanked by two windows. All three openings have brick sills and are crowned with decorative brick arches. The first floor has been renovated with large store windows surrounding a central door. The building extends from Seventh Street to China Alley with entrances on both streets.

The herb company was founded by Lok Ting Sue, a famous Chinese American herb doctor who had many patients, both Chinese and White, and was very successful financially. It is estimated that 80% of Dr. Sue's patients were Caucasians. Since Dr. Sue was not fluent in English, he employed Richard Do as an interpreter when he visited his Caucasian patients.

The reason so many Caucasians patronized Chinese herb doctors in the nineteenth century was that western medicine was not always reliable, and its methods were often extreme, such as the practice of bleeding. Chinese herbal medicine, though not always effective, was not harmful, and it had centuries of use behind it. Today, many of our "wonder" drugs are synthesized forms of traditional herbal medicines that are natural, and tend to have fewer side effects than the synthesized forms.

Quick Ranch Stone Wall

Mariposa, Mariposa County

This rock boundary wall is four miles long, four feet high, two feet wide at the base, and one foot wide at the top. It covers 640 acres. Uncut field stones without mortar were used to make it.

The wall runs up and down rolling hills, the highest elevation of which is 2,022 feet. Because the wall is built across the hills rather than on level ground and because it appears to continue endlessly, it is often referred to as a miniature "Great Wall of China."

Throughout California, there are stone walls that are said to have been built by Chinese workers in the nineteenth century. It is undeniable that one of the great contributions of Chinese Americans to development of California was their stone masonry

skills. However, there were stone masons of other nationalities at work in the state at the time, so without conclusive documentation, one cannot be absolutely certain how many walls were built by the early Chinese.

The stone walls on the Quick Ranch present no problem, since the ranch has remained in the family of the founder for six generations. The walls were built in 1862, and there is written documentation concerning the Chinese builders. Thus, these stone walls can be taken as a prime example of Chinese stone masonry technique, and can be used to help identify other Chinese stone walls throughout the state.

The Quick Ranch sits in the rolling foothills along the former Raymond-Mariposa Road. The original plank house that dates to the 1850s still stands. The ranch is now owned by Clyde E. Quick, the great-grandson of the founder, Morgan W. Quick. In 1849, Morgan Quick, at the age of 21, sailed from New York to California, then traveled to Mariposa to mine gold. In 1859, Morgan bought a homestead 11 miles south of Mariposa for \$250. The 160-acre property was located on Rancheria Creek, surrounded by a common brush fence. The highest hill on the ranch is 2,022 feet. Altogether, including various homesteads, the ranch covered 4,000 acres. Remains of the homesteads are still on the ranch.

In 1862, Morgan Quick had a rock wall built. This not only kept the livestock in but cleaned the fields of rocks. Cattle, horses, hogs, turkeys, and chickens were raised over the years. The family grew their own barley and wheat, and harvested wild oat hay.

Chinese workers from Mormon Bar built the fence under the direction of a Chinese boss. Each worker had to complete a rod and a half of fence a day (24-3/4 ft.) to receive the day's wages of 25¢. Morgan also agreed to feed the workers and bought a herd of hogs at about a cent and a half a pound to provide pork. The Chinese boss was paid at the rate

of \$1.75 a rod (16-1/2 ft.). He sat under an umbrella, and kept count of each foot of wall on his abacus. The total cost of the wall was \$6,000. Most of the original wall is still standing. Although other parts of the ranch remain, one of Morgan Quick's greatest monuments is the rock wall.



Gasquet Toll Road

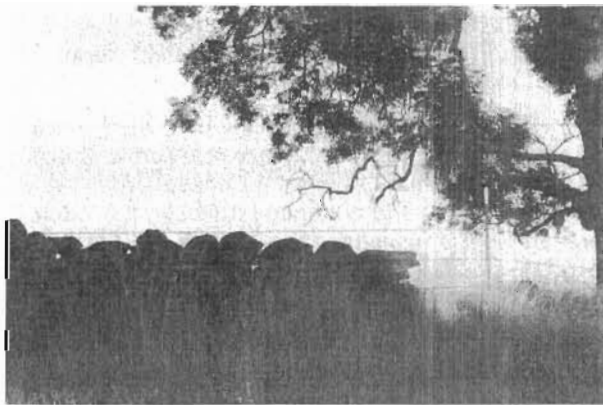
Six Rivers National Forest, Del Norte County

Del Norte County is isolated from the rest of California by mountain ranges, and in the early days, its chief link with San Francisco was by sea. An overland route was needed to ensure continued growth and development of the county. The Gasquet Toll Road provided the transportation linkage between Del Norte County and Oregon.

The Gasquet Toll Road is a corduroy road, with a bed composed of timbers laid across its width and a surface of dirt and gravel. A newspaper of the time described it as a "wagon road leading from the forks of the Smith River up the middle fork of said river on the left hand bank thereof about four miles, thence across the same; thence to the mouth of Patrick's Creek; thence up Patrick's Creek to Shelly Creek; thence to a point on the state line between California and Oregon, about three miles east of the 'Robin's Nest,' being about twenty miles in length and intended to be a toll road."

Although the road may have been repaired or resurfaced with dirt and gravel in subsequent years, it has largely retained its original composition and construction. It can still be used, but it is narrow and winds through the mountains. Most traffic to the Oregon border is now on Highway 101 or Interstate 5.

The Gasquet Toll Road was planned by a French immigrant, Horace Gasquet, and was built by Chinese American workers. The road was begun in 1881 and completed in 1886.



On May 15, 1881, petitions were circulated among the citizens of Del Norte County in order to document their endorsement of the plan and ask for approval by the board of supervisors to construct a new road. The May 15, 1881 issue of the *Del Norte Record* quotes Gasquet: "Understanding this great work, I consider myself the servant of the people interested and a full accounting shall be made of all expenditures and progress."

Horace Gasquet immigrated to Crescent City, California, in 1855. In 1857, he purchased 320 acres of land at the north and middle forks of the Smith River, and set up the village of Gasquet, with a hotel, bar, store, barn, blacksmith shop, winery, and other small buildings. Around 1860, he completed one of the first mule trails to the interior and to the Oregon Territory. Later, he had a mule trail built to Happy Camp on the Klamath River, where he opened another mercantile store, in addition to his mining activities there. Then he opened a store at Waldo, Oregon.

Gasquet's stores at Waldo and Happy Camp, his mining activities, his road projects, and his farm at Gasquet were all handled with Chinese American workers until 1886. Anti-Chinese agitation peaked in 1886, when virtually all Chinese Americans in Del Norte County were expelled. Numerous Chinatowns throughout the county were torn down, and evidence of Chinese American contributions to growth of the county destroyed. Only the roads built by Chinese American workers remain.



Haraszthy Buena Vista Winery

Sonoma, Sonoma County

The Haraszthy Buena Vista Winery is located in Sonoma. The wine cellars consist of two main buildings of cut stone, with classical symmetry and low-pitched shingle roofs. The focal point of the facade of each building is a broad, arched doorway,

wide enough to admit a horse-drawn wagon. One of the two main buildings is a two-story structure with an arched window on the second floor above the doorway. This window is flanked on either side by two rectangular windows. The front of the building is covered by a thick growth of ivy. There are two signs on the building: "Haraszthy Buena Vista Vineyards" in the second floor central window, and "Buena Vista Sherry Solera" in an arched window on the south gable. A second building is a three-story building of similar design in cut stone with a heavy growth of ivy. A sign, "Haraszthy Cellars," hangs over its main doorway. Inside the buildings are wine storage tunnels cut into the hill behind the buildings.

The two buildings are at the end of a narrow road that passes by some of the vineyards owned by the winery. The buildings face west, and are surrounded by tall trees.

In 1857, Chinese workers employed by "Colonel" Agoston Haraszthy, reputed father of the modern California wine-growing industry, dug a tunnel into a hillside on his Buena Vista vineyards in order to store some 5,000 gallons of wine. They built a second tunnel in 1858, and a third in 1862. In an article in the San Francisco daily newspaper *Alta California*, July 23, 1863, a reporter observed "Chinese grubbing out oak saplings" at the Buena Vista winery so the vineyards could be enlarged. In the champagne cellar, he saw "four Chinese, filling, corking, wiring, etc. champagne bottles." He also mentioned, "There are now in progress, three new cellars, close to the press house. These are all being blasted and excavated by Chinese. They are to be twenty-six feet wide, thirteen feet in height and three hundred feet long." Chinese workmen were furnished to the Buena Vista Winery by Ho Po, a San Francisco labor contractor. They often plowed the soil, pruned the vines, and excavated tunnels at night, if the heat of the day was too oppressive.

It is estimated that viticulture in California would have been set back 30 to 50 years without Chinese vineyard workers. Although grape vines are now pruned to waist height, they were originally pruned to a foot and a half above the ground. This forced the picker to kneel or to bend his back to a painful angle. Many non-Chinese laborers could not or would not perform stoop labor. About 1890, pruning customs changed, and there was much agitation to replace Chinese workers with White laborers.

Brookside Winery

Redlands, San Bernardino County

The Brookside Winery is a large, brick two-story building constructed in 1888 in Redlands. The

gambrel roof, broad proportions of the building itself, lunette window in the eaves, large central circular doorway at ground level, and brick arches over the windows are all reminiscent of French nineteenth-century wineries. Sheets of metal cover the roof. Inside, the building has been renovated. It is surrounded by orchards.

Nearby is the Chinese bunkhouse, which housed Chinese American workers. The bunkhouse is a small, one-story building, made of vertical board and batten redwood. Two attachments have been added to the bunkhouse.

The Brookside Winery employed 30 Chinese Americans, who performed various services. They prepared and fired bricks as well as building the barns, wine cellars, and houses.

The Brookside Winery was founded by Theophile Vache, who immigrated to California from France in 1830. Within two years, he had established a winery in the Monterey County area. In 1882, the Vache family leased from Dr. Ben Barton the vineyards and winery he had established on his ranch west of Redlands. The Vaches then purchased from the Southern Pacific Railroad the land in lower San Timoteo Canyon. There they planted their vineyard. On October 10, 1885, they harvested grapes, crushed them, and began to ferment their first wine on that property. The Vaches produced ordinary wine because the climate at Redlands does not favor premium varieties of grapes. The social climate, however, was hostile to wine production. Redlands was dominated by prohibitionists, and temperance was virtually a religious issue. The Vaches ceased to sell wine in 1914 and sold the property in 1916.

The building has been restored and currently serves as a learning center for young girls.



Riverside Chinese American Community Site

Riverside, Riverside County

The last buildings of the historic Chinese American community in Riverside were torn down in the summer of 1977 to make way for a shopping center. The razed buildings have often been referred to as a single structure when, in fact, they were a series of six adjacent buildings with common walls to save space and expense. Each building had one door and one window in front, and wooden additions to the rear. A common flat roof stretched continuously across all of them. The facade contained some classical detail in the decorative brickwork that bordered the roof, the brick arches over the windows, and the brick pilasters that marked the division of the buildings.

The use of each building is unknown, although brick ovens inside one of the buildings with built-in woks suggest that it may have been a restaurant. Some time prior to demolition, the interiors of the buildings were vandalized, and derogatory racial epithets against Chinese Americans were spray painted on the walls.

Riverside is famous for its navel oranges, but the role of Chinese laborers in early development of the citrus industry is now often overlooked. Riverside was founded as an experimental colony in 1870. The arrival of the first Chinese Americans is unrecorded, but by 1876, they had established a community in the area of University, Ninth, Orange, and Main streets. Agricultural labor was largely Chinese American, as was railroad construction labor. A notice of January 8, 1881 mentions, "Chinamen are being employed in grading the California Southern Railroad at \$20 per month." The number of Chinese American workers increased sharply in 1885-86 during building of the Riverside, Santa Ana & Los Angeles Railroad through town.

Riverside's Chinese Americans earned a reputation for a high level of law observance. Nevertheless, they were subjected to restrictive regulations, selective law enforcement, and other harassment. Their rents were raised to exorbitant amounts, payable in advance. Five of their leaders were arrested for violation of a nuisance ordinance and were given jail sentences. Lawyers were brought from Los Angeles to counter the harassment, but eventually, the people decided to move from the downtown area.

In 1886, Duey Wo Lung and other leaders of Riverside's pioneer Chinese Americans founded a seven-acre settlement along a one-block street

leading northward from Tequesquite Avenue. On July 31, 1893, most of the buildings in this second Chinese American community were destroyed by fire. Of 26 wooden buildings, only eight were saved. Undaunted, the Chinese American community rebuilt the homes and stores, including two brick buildings, on the same site.

In 1896, violence erupted at the Fay Packing House in Casa Blanca, and seven Chinese American employees were terrorized into leaving. A policeman was subsequently stationed at the packing house, but at a meeting of the city trustees on January 2, 1897 it was advocated that since the officer "was now useful only to protect the Chinamen employed in the packing houses . . . if packers persisted in hiring Chinamen they should protect them."

Until after 1900, the Chinese American population of Riverside rarely dropped below 150, and during the citrus harvest it often numbered several thousand. The 1900 Census Records show more than 200 Chinese Americans in Riverside, mostly men who served as laborers (probably in the citrus orchards), cooks, storekeepers, laundrymen, servants, ironers, gardeners, lodging house keepers, druggists, a barber, a butcher, a tailor, and a vegetable peddler.

Riverside's Chinese American community dwindled because of local prejudice and discriminatory legislation including the Chinese Exclusion Laws. Brick buildings, erected after the great Chinatown fire of July 31, 1893 and torn down in 1977, were the last of the original structures along Chinatown Avenue. The only reminder is a short street named Wong Way.



Chinese Temples

Cambria, San Luis Obispo County

After the last Chinese Americans left Cambria about 1916, members of the Warren family purchased their property. The older and less stable buildings were

torn down. Others were moved to new locations. The Buddhist and Taoist temples, built of redwood, were moved a short distance to Center Street. The old B. H. Franklin building was then attached to these two buildings to form a home that was occupied by various members of the Warren family until 1970. At one time, the building housed the Cambria Telephone Company, which was owned and operated by Will Warren. The former Buddhist temple forms the living room of the house, and still retains the altar shelf for the Buddha, flanked by the paraphernalia closets. The former Taoist temple, joined to the Buddhist temple, forms the kitchen.

No one knows when the first Chinese came to San Luis Obispo County's north coast. They were living along the ocean cliffs before the founding of Cambria. Chinese were established as fishermen in Monterey as early as 1854, and some of them may have drifted down the coast to San Luis Obispo County.

During the 1870s, Chinese Americans worked as miners and laborers in various quicksilver mines of the area. The earliest Chinese Americans in the county's north coast area settled in isolated spots along the shore to farm seaweed as the principal source of income, supplemented in the beginning by dried abalone, which was shipped to San Francisco by schooner for shipment to China.

Eventually, a Chinese American community developed in Cambria. It was located on Bridge Street to the south of Center Street, extending along the north bank of Santa Rosa Creek. It consisted of a Buddhist temple, a Taoist temple, a bunk house, and a few small buildings used as dwellings in which various Chinese Americans lived from time to time. The Chinese American community has gradually disappeared as the elders died and the younger generation moved away.

Way-Aft-Whyle

Clear Lake, Lake County

Way-Aft-Whyle is a small island in Clear Lake, a short distance north of Rocky Point and barely above the water level. It is conspicuous because of a thicket of willows near its center. There are no structures on the island. It lies about 10 yards offshore from the rural northern outskirts of the town of Lakeport.

Around the 1880s, a Chinese American gardener raised vegetables on this isolated island. He probably



lived in a simple hut on the island, but no one now alive remembers it. Although the natural setting is beautiful, the difficulties of raising vegetables here cannot be overestimated. All supplies had to be obtained from stores in Lakeport, many miles away, and transported by boat to the island. The vegetables raised had to be taken to shore, and carried all the way to Lakeport to be sold. Since the island is barely above lake level, it could easily be inundated in storms.

Although one might choose to vacation here, it is not a place a person would be likely to choose for farming or raising vegetables. However, in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, Chinese American farmers had no choice. Local laws and ordinances prevented them from owning land in this state, so they had only two alternatives: work for someone else as a laborer or tenant farmer, or raise crops on land no one else wanted. The island itself is symbolic of the harsh, lonely lives many early Chinese Americans were forced to lead because of racial prejudice.

Hercules Powder Plant

Hercules, Contra Costa County

Hercules, a company town noted for the manufacture of dynamite, is located along San Pablo Bay. The town is made up of three distinct parts: the industrial plant (powder plant and connecting railroad facilities), the administrative buildings (police station and city hall), and a residential section (workers' cottages). These sections are laid out in ravines and gullies to give them protection in case of an explosion from the powder plant. The industrial plant is situated on land adjacent to San Pablo Bay, in a hollow about one mile square. It is made up of numerous technical facilities, rows of

vernacular wooden buildings, a dock, and railroad tracks.

The administrative buildings of the town are located on a bluff overlooking the plant. These are simple brick and wooden structures with little ornamentation. Interspersed among them are the spacious homes of the plant managers.

In a ravine about a mile from the plant are the workers' homes. The streets are lined with identical two-story wooden structures all painted the same color. At present, the homes are deserted and have fallen into disrepair. The plant has been idle since a worker's strike in 1977. There are only a few people caretaking the town. Access to Hercules is over a narrow, winding road.

California Powder Works, whose first plant was established near Santa Cruz in 1861, acquired land for a plant on San Pablo Bay in 1879. The new plant was constructed in two years, and in 1881 started producing dynamite. The majority of its employees were Chinese Americans. They worked in the very dangerous nitroglycerine lines. For a back-breaking job of 60 hours in a six-day work week, most Chinese American workers received only \$1.25 per day. They were paid far less than White workers, even though they held more dangerous jobs.

Chinese workers were isolated from the Caucasian workers who lived in family cottages. Housing facilities for Chinese American workers consisted of two wooden dormitories located 200 yards from the plant's main entrance. As many as 375 Chinese Americans resided in the long, narrow, box-like buildings that contained three tiers of bunks stretching the length of the walls in the sleeping quarters. In another section of the structure were the kitchen and dining areas.

From 1881 to 1919, 59 lives were taken by explosions. The majority of the devastating blasts happened in the nitroglycerine house and in the buildings where dynamite was produced.



Old Chinese Herb Shop

Truckee, Nevada County

Chinese American laborers constructed a railroad bed, laid railroad tracks, built snow sheds and other buildings, and provided maintenance for the first transcontinental railroad through the Sierra Nevada. In Truckee, Nevada County, Chinese Americans also worked as lumberjacks, mill hands, ice cutters, and teamsters.

Truckee was the scene of riots and racial unrest in which Chinatown was repeatedly burned and Chinese Americans driven from their homes.

After the first Chinese American community was destroyed, a second Chinatown was built behind Front Street near the Old Jail. A fire broke out on May 29, 1875 that destroyed the whole of the Chinese American community, causing a \$50,000 loss to the Chinese Americans living there. An unsuccessful effort was made on November 18, 1878 to prevent rebuilding of the Chinese American community. A body of 400 to 500 Whites assembled in the Chinese quarter and totally destroyed the buildings. Nevertheless, within a month, a new Chinatown had sprung up on the south side of the river outside the city limits.

The Old Chinese Herb Shop is the last remaining structure from Truckee's third Chinatown. The herb shop, dating from 1878, is a small, one-story rectangular brick building with a wooden gable facing east. The facade has a door and a window with iron shutters on the ground floor. The square window in the gable has no iron shutters, but the gable itself is probably a later replacement. Inside are unfaced brick walls with recently added wood paneling in the front portion of the shop. According to the present owner, about one foot of dirt covers the floor of the attic, presumably as insulation and fire protection for the wooden beams of the first-floor ceiling.

The building has been changed considerably by a brick addition on the north side, wooden wing attachments on both the north and south sides, and a cement block addition on the north side. The whole structure is painted white and has a metal roof. The herb shop can be best seen from the front of the building; only a small portion is visible at the rear. It is situated on the south bank of the Truckee River on the site of Truckee's third Chinatown. It is surrounded by scattered modern residences to the south, and a trailer park to the north and east.

Lang Station Site

Saugus, Los Angeles County

On September 5, 1876, Charles Crocker, president of the Southern Pacific Railroad Company, drove a

gold spike here to complete his company's San Joaquin Valley Line. This was the first rail connection between Los Angeles and San Francisco. The majority of the railroad workers were Chinese Americans. Many of them were experienced in railroad construction because they had been employed in building the transcontinental line in the 1860s.

Railroad tracks, crossing signals, and equipment mark this site, which no longer has a station building.



Harmony Borax Works

Furnace Creek, Inyo County

At present, the Harmony Borax Works plant consists of a four-level ruin located on a hillside in Death Valley. There are remains of buildings, machinery, tanks, piping, and waste tailings. In addition to the plant, a nearby townsite contains remnants of buildings and trash dumps relating to the company settlement. A 20-mule team wagon is near the plant.

Originally, the four terraces were supported by cut sandstone, cobble rubble, or wood plank retaining walls. Adjacent to the service road, on the uppermost tier of the plant, were placed two large, rectangular dissolving tanks of iron. East of the dissolving tanks, on a slightly lower level, an adobe structure was built to house the boiler and to serve as a machine room. Wood to fuel the boiler was stored in the area east of the adobe structure. The west side of the plant was reserved as a skimming pile.

The next two levels down the hill contained square metal tanks housed in wood. Near these tanks and the dissolving tanks above were rail tracks for ore cars. The bottom level of the plant contained several long rows of crystallizing vats with truncated cone shapes and a barn-like wooden structure for storage.

After borax was found near Furnace Creek Ranch (then called Greenland) in 1881, W. T. Coleman built the Harmony plant and began to process ore in late 1883 or early 1884. When in full operation, the Harmony Borax Works employed 40 men, who produced three tons of borax daily. What little

evidence remains indicates that the bulk of this labor force was composed of Chinese workers. The Chinese laborers gathered the impure chunks of mineral from the valley floor and loaded them into one-horse carts for transport to the borax plant.

Because of the extreme heat during the summer months, Coleman moved his work force to the Amargosa Borax Plant near present-day Tecopa, California. The Harmony operation became famous through use of large mule teams and double wagons, which hauled borax over the long route to Mojave.

When the road from Harmony to Mojave was built, the worst construction problem was the Devil's Golf Course -- salt beds in which the soil seemed to have been churned up, twisted, and contorted into the most fantastic shapes. It is said that breaking down and mashing the irregularities to make a smooth road bed was done entirely with sledgehammers wielded by Chinese laborers who were paid \$1.25 a day. They were taken from their regular work of collecting "cotton balls" (borax) from Harmony marsh.

By 1900, after the peak of development of the borax industry in Inyo County, there were still at least 64 Chinese Americans left in the county. Occupations included: cooks, railroad section laborers, gardeners, laundrymen, laborers, prospectors for soda, merchants, a peddler, a laborer in a flouring mill, a restaurant keeper, and a waiter. There were six women (five wives and one housekeeper) and four children.

Harmony Borax Works is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and as a California State Historical Landmark.

Bodie Chinese American Community

Bodie, Mono County

Three buildings remain from Bodie's historic Chinese American community. They are located on King

Street, which was the center of the Chinese American community on the outskirts of town. One structure is a commercial building of fieldstone with a wood plank roof covered with tar paper. Half of the building appears to have had a gable roof, and the other half a hip roof.

The other two buildings are made of wood, including board-and-batten walls. Their wooden roofs are also covered with tar paper. The larger of the two buildings is a simple rectangle with a gable roof. The smaller building is also rectangular with a gable roof, though it has an attached shed in back. All three buildings are badly deteriorated.

South of the historic Chinese American community lie the ruins of the town of Bodie and nearby mine buildings. In Bodie is a saloon once operated by a Chinese American, Sam Leon, when the town flourished. West of town at the north end of the main cemetery it is said that there was a Chinese American cemetery.

W. S. Bodey and mining companions found gold north of Mono Lake in 1859. The Bodey (Body or Bodie) Mining District was organized the following year. In 1863, the Bodie Bluff Consolidated Mining Company, the first mining corporation, was formed. In 1878, the Bodie Mining Company made a phenomenally rich strike of gold and silver ore. Peak production was reached in 1879-80. Between 1879 and 1881, Bodie's population was between 10,000 and 13,000.

Chinese miners came to Bodie early, but were soon excluded from the mines and confined to service occupations. The 1880 Census shows several hundred Chinese Americans in Bodie. Among the men, there were laundrymen, cooks, kitchen helpers, laborers, peddlers, servants, store keepers, wood haulers, teamsters, dish washers, a waiter, a druggist, a restaurant owner, a lodging house owner, and miners. Half the women were married, and the other half unmarried, but no occupations were listed. There were no children.

As in many other mining communities in California, the Chinese in Mono County experienced racial



Bodie, Mono County



discrimination. In 1881, the Bodie Railway and Lumber Company was formed to haul wood and lumber from the Mono Hills to Bodie. When Chinese Americans were hired for construction of this railroad, excited White miners met at the Miners Union Hall. Subsequently, a band of White men traveled the 21 miles to Mono Lake by foot, horse, and buggy to confront Chinese workers grading the railroad line. Word preceded their approach, and all Chinese Americans were put aboard the steamer *Rocket* and ferried out to Paoha Island in Mono Lake. There, the Chinese Americans set up house-keeping with all their worldly goods. The frustrated miners arrived at the deserted railroad camp, but there was no way to cross the water to the island. They soon straggled back to Bodie.

In Bodie, on narrow King Street, Chinese Americans ran laundries, peddled vegetables (shipped in by express), supplied charcoal, and provided most of the wood used in the town. Bodie's Chinese American community had its own temple and recreational facilities. Newspaper accounts mention New Year celebrations, large funerals, and such individuals as Sam Chung and Sam Leon.

Bodie is a State Historic Park maintained by the California Department of Parks and Recreation in a condition of arrested decay to prevent further deterioration of the town's resources. Bodie is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and is a California State Historical Landmark.

Sulphur Bank Mine

Clear Lake Oaks, Lake County

Sulphur Bank Mine is located at Clear Lake Oaks in Lake County. Its name derives from the yellow sulphur banks that characterize the location. The mine was first worked for sulphur in 1865, and in four years produced a total of 2,000,000 pounds. It reopened in 1874 as a quicksilver mine, and became an important producer during World Wars I and II, with a total output of 92,400 flasks. Although the mine is no longer in operation, some of its buildings still stand. An aggregate block company and the Bradley Ranch are now located on the property of the Sulphur Bank Mine.

The first operations for quicksilver were conducted in 1874 by the California Borax Company, but the corporation was changed to the Sulphur Bank Quicksilver Mining Company shortly thereafter. Sulphur Banks grew to be a town of 1,000 people, due to the mining operations. Of this population, 600 were Chinese, who worked in the poisonous fumes of the furnaces and concentrators. The entire area abounded in hot springs, and it was found impossible to work at any distance below the surface. At one time, a great number of Chinese laborers were scalded to death in the big shaft when they hit a vein of boiling water, and a geyser shot up filling in the shaft. It was estimated that there were 23,184,000 pounds of quicksilver available in 1880. Up to that time, the operations had all been surface workings, but in 1881 shafts were sunk.



Sulphur Bank Mine, Lake County

The number of men employed in the mine varied greatly. On the average, there were about 400 Chinese and 150 Whites. Many Whites refused to work in the bad conditions underground. The men had to wear rain suits and hats and shoes with wooden soles. Heat was so intense that the men worked in 20-minute shifts, then went to a cooling room where air was pumped from the outside. At times, the men were sprayed with water as they worked.

Once, six Chinese were in the cooling room when a landslide crushed the pipe bringing in cool air. The men were killed by heat and steam.

Two different groups of Chinese worked in the mines, and each lived at a different location. One group, whose leader was Lu Lee, had a camp garden and bunk houses half a mile north of the Sulphur Bank Rancheria on the lakeshore side of the mine. The other group had the same setup on rolling hills just south of the Indian rancheria. The head man of this latter group was Ah Van.

Only one Chinese woman was ever seen at the mines. She was called Lu and was the wife of Ah Van. She gave birth to a baby while there, but later left the place. There was considerable visiting between Chinese men and Native American women.

Chinese men lived in bunk houses about 200 feet long with a door at each end and an aisle three feet wide down the center. On either side of the aisle were rooms (eight feet by eight feet), with double-decked bunks on each side and a three-foot-wide floor space in the center. Four men shared a room. The beds had mats on them. A small scrap-iron stove, wired together, with a two-inch pipe for a chimney, was in each room. Opium was smoked generally, but in moderation.

As a result of the State Constitution adopted by California in 1879, the legislature set up conditions under which "objectionable persons" might reside in the state. One of the laws passed under this provision prohibited corporations holding state charters from employing "any Chinese or Mongolian," and established heavy penalties for violation of the law. The legislation had an immediate and paralyzing effect on the quicksilver mines, which depended almost wholly on Chinese for their underground labor. The president of the Sulphur Bank Mine, Tiburcio Parrott, deliberately defied the law so he would be arrested and tried. In the test case against him, the Circuit Court on March 22, 1880, handed down a strong opinion that held the law to be in contravention of both the Burlingame Treaty and the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Total estimated production of quicksilver from the Sulphur Bank Mine was 127,973 flasks. At \$200 per flask, production exceeded \$25,000,000. The Sulphur Bank Mine was one of the most profitable quicksilver mines in the state.



Bok Kai Temple

Marysville, Yuba County

The Bok Kai Temple, located in Marysville, is a brick building with a double gabled roof. Its walls are plastered white, and the roof is covered with mission tiles. The building faces south, and is built so close to the levee that the main approach to the front of the building is down a flight of steps from the top of the levee. The levee is almost the same height as the building itself.

The facade is divided into three parts, with a central door painted red. The porch is covered by an overhanging roof, the ends of which are supported by two turned wooden columns, also painted red. Under the eaves are paintings of religious scenes. On either side of the door are Chinese inscriptions carved in wood and painted gold on a red background. The porch has a traditional Chinese wooden railing.

Inside the temple are statues of seven deities, five on the main altar with Bok Eye (Bok I or Bok Aie, god of the north) in the center, and two on separate altars. In front of the main altar on a long table are a brass tablet bearing inscriptions of the deities, incense burners, divination sticks, oracle books, and other ceremonial objects. The temple also has two wings, both with flat roofs. The west wing is a council room. The east wing is a storeroom. Living quarters have been added to the northeast corner of the building.

The Bok Kai Miu is the only surviving Taoist temple in the United States with Bok Eye, the god of the

north, as the central deity. It is, however, not the only Taoist temple in the United States honoring Bok Eye. Bok Eye is one of the deities in Weaverville's Won Lim Miu, for example. At Weaverville and elsewhere, Kuan Kung rather than Bok Eye is the central deity.

Kuan Kung was the most popular among early immigrants from Canton because he was once a living person (a military hero around 184 A.D.) who exemplified not only military valor but loyalty and high principles. He was replaced as the central deity in Marysville because the town was subjected to flooding, and Bok Eye, god of the north, controls the waters, including floods and irrigation. Situated on the lowlands at the bend of the Yuba River, the Chinese American community was especially endangered by flooding.

Because of discriminatory legislation, early Chinese pioneers were not allowed to become citizens or to own land. They had to live on land that no one else wanted, often land subject to flooding. Numerous Chinese American communities in the nineteenth century were destroyed by floods in which the inhabitants lost everything they owned. Harsh economic necessity forced them to face this danger, and the protection of Bok Eye helped them to do so.

The first Bok Kai Miu was built in Marysville about 1854, near the corner of First and B streets. It was said to have been made of wood and furnished with elaborate temple appointments made in China. According to Wells, *Chinese Temples in California*, it was probably destroyed by the 1866 flood, which was so severe that it forced most residents of the town to take refuge on the Sutter Buttes. If this was so, Marysville's Chinese American population would have been without a temple for 14 years. Other sources say that the first temple gradually fell into a state of disrepair.

The present Bok Kai Miu was built early in 1880, and dedication ceremonies were held March 28, 1880. Since that date, it has been in continuous operation. It is one of the oldest Taoist temples in California still serving the community with an official to assist in religious services.

It also is the only temple in the United States that still celebrates Yee Yeut Yee ("Bomb Day"), a holiday honoring Bok Eye. In the nineteenth century, this holiday was widely celebrated at temples from Grass Valley to Yreka in Northern California.

"Bomb Day" derives its name from the shooting off of bombs which contain "good fortune" rings. The two-day holiday begins quietly with religious observances on the first day, and ends with the bombs and a parade featuring the Golden Dragon.

Marysville's dragon was said to have been the first one brought to this country, sometime before the turn of the century. It was more than 150 feet long, and required about 100 men to carry it. It was exhibited at the World's Fair in New York, and was last used in the 1937 parade in Marysville. "Bomb Day" (now with a newer, shorter dragon in its parade) is still an annual event in Marysville, celebrated not only by the city but by visitors from distant places.

The Bok Kai Temple is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and as a California State Historical Landmark.



Ah Louis Store

San Luis Obispo, San Luis Obispo County

The Ah Louis Store is a two-story brick rectangular building in the community of San Luis Obispo. The facade is painted white, and has two windows and a door on both the first and second floors. All of the windows have iron shutters except for the windows on the second floor. The windows and door on the first floor are larger than those on the second floor. The balcony is of ornate ironwork. There are Italianate details in the pronounced brackets near the roof and the projecting cornices over the windows and door on the second floor.

The building stands on the corner of a commercial street near Mission San Luis Obispo, in central San Luis Obispo. The store was originally surrounded by the Chinese American community.

The first Chinese American store in San Luis Obispo County, the Ah Louis Store was founded in 1874 by On Wong, known popularly as "Ah Louis." He was a labor contractor who also sold dry goods, tea, sugar, rice, and Chinese goods.

Ah Louis was born in Canton, China, and came to the United States as a young man. He worked in Corvallis, Oregon, and various other places, and finally settled in San Luis Obispo in 1870. He began labor contracting in 1873 by providing workers to build a railroad from Avila to Port Harford, now Port San Luis. He brought 160 Chinese Americans from San Francisco by schooner to help construct the Pacific Coast Railroad. By 1877, Ah Louis was bidding for labor contracts for road building. He was awarded labor contracts for the Paso Robles to Cambria county road, and the tough first and second stage roads over Cuesta Grade.

In 1882, Ah Louis began reclaiming acres of land for cultivation. With a contract for \$1,100, he undertook to drain a great portion of the Laguna area. In 1884, he contracted for the Chinese American labor that built the eight original railroad tunnels through the Cuesta for the Southern Pacific Railroad. The job required about 2,000 laborers, and took 10 years.

In 1885, Ah Louis had Alfred Walker build a new brick store on the corner of Palm and Chorro streets. This store served as a bank, supply center, and employment office. A section of the living quarters above the shop was set aside as a temple where Ah Louis practiced the Taoist faith. Another temple was later built for the Chinese American community a half-block from the store.

In May 1889, Ah Louis married Ying Gon in San Francisco. They raised a family of eight children, one of whom, Howard Louis, still runs the Ah Louis Store.

Ah Louis set up one of the first kilns in the area for making bricks, and had his own brickyard somewhere between Bishop's Peak and San Luis Mountain. His bricks were used not only for his own store, but for the roundhouse, the old courthouse, and the east wing of the San Luis Obispo Mission.

In later years, he was to pioneer in the flower and vegetable seed industry. He died December 16, 1936. The Ah Louis Store is significant not only as a surviving building from the historic Chinese American community in San Luis Obispo but also through its identification with the Chinese American pioneer Ah Louis, or On Wong.

The property is currently listed as a California State Historical Landmark.

Ken Ying Low Restaurant

San Jose, Santa Clara County

The Ken Ying Low Restaurant is located in the city of San Jose. It is a long, narrow, two-story wooden building, 25 feet wide by 138 feet long. Its original

portion may have been constructed as early as 1887, but during its early years, it underwent numerous changes and additions to adapt it to current taste and different functions. The front portion has walls of horizontal shiplap boards, while the walls of the sides and rear sections are of vertical boards.

The facade has a false front, with a corniced parapet. A second-story door, flanked by two windows, opens onto a cantilevered balcony covered by a barrel-vaulted roof, which runs parallel to the building's face. Wooden pillars support the barrel-vaulted roof, the edge of which has sockets for nine light bulbs that once lit up the facade of the building. The balcony has a simple iron railing. A neon sign reading "Ken Ying Low Chop Suey" projects from it. The balcony and lighting features are of the type common to 1920s and 1930s chop suey restaurants.

The building faces east. The ground floor of the facade has three doors of various sizes and one window, which are unrelated in design to the second floor of the facade. The facade is painted white with red trim, while rear portions of the building are unpainted.

San Jose was the gateway to the southern mines for Chinese immigrants during the 1850s. They traveled by water to the port of Alviso (now part of San Jose), and continued overland to the mines after



picking up supplies in San Jose. Gradually, a Chinese American community developed around Market and San Fernando streets in San Jose. As the city grew, city officials became concerned that the Chinese occupied such valuable land in the central business district. On March 8, 1887, the city council discussed the "abatement" of Chinatown, and instructed its lawyers to find a legal means of removing the Chinese to the edge of the city.

On May 4, 1887, a fire started in Chinatown. According to a local newspaper, "a well-known fireman says that he was one of the first men at the fire and when he arrived flames were issuing from three different points in wooden Chinatown, as if an incendiary had been at work." By coincidence, the 10,000-gallon water tank in Chinatown that supplied water to extinguish fires was almost empty when the fire started. Many Chinese lost all their possessions and were financially ruined. After the fire, they were not allowed to rebuild at the same locations.

Relocation of Chinatown was difficult because of laws that had been passed to prevent the Chinese from owning land in California. However, the property at Sixth and Taylor Streets was leased from John Heinlen through the Quong Hin Hoon Company for about \$1,500 a month. This new Chinatown was subsequently referred to as Heinlenville. It flourished at the turn of the century, but nearby residents protested its growth, and home protective associations were formed to oust the Chinese from the district.

In 1931, many brick buildings of the 44-year-old Chinatown were torn down in order to provide for expansion of the Department of Public Works. One of the buildings scheduled for demolition was the Temple of Five Immortals. Some members of the Hip Sing Tong raised funds to hire attorney Gerald S. Chargin in an attempt to save the temple. This was the beginning of an 18-year struggle. All efforts to save the temple eventually failed, however, and in May 1949 it was demolished.

Today, there is no Chinatown in San Jose. The only trace of those early Chinese pioneers who played an essential role in development of the mines, orchards, railroads, vegetable and flower fields, and other businesses and industries around San Jose are the Ken Ying Low Restaurant and two vacant buildings. These buildings are endangered by proposed commercial development supported by both the local businessman's association and the San Jose Tourist Bureau, which seeks to bring in foreign business investment and to establish a uniform (non-Chinese) theme for the neighborhood.

Los Angeles Massacre Site

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County

The streets in the area of the Los Angeles Massacre have been changed, and the location of Nigger Alley (no longer in existence) is within the boundaries of El Pueblo de Los Angeles State Historic Park. New High Street and Los Angeles Street are still city streets, and thus are owned by the City of Los Angeles. Some of the violence took place near the Garnier Building, which is part of the park.

The Los Angeles Massacre occurred on October 24, 1871 and is alleged to have been set off by a quarrel between Yo Hing and Sam Yuen in the middle of the Chinese American community on the previous day. Two Chinese were arrested for shooting at Yo Hing, but were released on bail October 23. The dispute was continued the next day. Hearing gunshots, Police Officer Bilderrain attempted to quell the disturbance, but was unable to do so. When Robert Thompson, a private citizen, attempted to come to the aid of the police officer, he was accidentally shot and killed. Two others were wounded.

The exact circumstances of the shooting are unclear. The police had apparently been warned of the impending battle, but only one officer was present at the time. A large group of spectators seems to have been on hand -- more than enough to have put an end to the dispute -- but only Robert Thompson and two others came to Officer Bilderrain's aid. It is unclear whether Thompson was carrying a gun or if he did any shooting.

In any case, the spectators became active participants by confronting the Chinese populace. The Chinese took refuge in an adobe building and barricaded the doors and windows. Some of the mob, led by Don Refugio Batello, climbed to the roof, bored holes through the ceiling, and shot into the building without ascertaining which, if any, of the occupants had been involved in the dispute that set off the violence. One Chinese man was gunned down when he attempted to leave the besieged building. Another was captured by the crowd, dragged through the street to Tomlinson's corral on New High Street, and hanged.

After attempts were made to set the building on fire, some of the rioters battered in the eastern end of the building and found eight Chinese inside. Of these, one was killed by dragging him over the stones by a rope around his neck. Three were hanged from a wagon on Los Angeles Street, although they were more dead than alive from being beaten and kicked. Four were likewise hanged from

the western gateway of Tomlinson's corral on New High Street. Two of the victims were mere boys.

One of the victims was Gene Tung, a Chinese doctor, who was respected by the White people who knew him. Dr. Tung pleaded in English and Spanish for his life, offering his captors all his wealth. He was hanged anyway, his money stolen, and one of his fingers cut off to obtain the rings he wore. Several other Chinese men were shot, a number fled to the city jail for safety, and many went into the country.

The motivation of the mob was not simply vengeance intensified by racism. While the shooting and hanging were going on, thieves and robbers were looting the Chinese buildings. Every room in the block was thoroughly rifled and ransacked. Trunks, boxes, and locked receptacles of all kinds were broken open in the search for valuables. It is variously estimated that the loss to the Chinese in money was from \$30,000 to \$70,000.

Five days after the riot, the coroner's jury reported that 19 persons had come to their deaths by mob violence on the night of October 24, 1871. Of all the Chinese murdered, it is believed that none of them was involved in the shooting, except Ah Choy. Of the murderers of the 19 Chinese, a few were imprisoned in San Quentin for a short time, but the leaders escaped punishment.

Although racial violence continued against Chinese Americans in the nineteenth century, this savage and brutal event has no equal in California Chinese American history.



Hi Chung Laundry

Elmira, Solano County

The Hi Chung Laundry, located in Elmira, Solano County, is a one-story, rectangular wood-frame

building with walls of shiplap boards. Its roof is tarpaper, and has a low gable. The facade, with a single door and two windows, faces north. The faded lettering "Hi Chung Laundry" is still discernible on the gable. On the west side is an entrance with a porch. The door on the east side opens out into the garden. A wooden shed has been added to the south side of the building. Further south, at the edge of the property, is the bank of a small stream.

The interior and east side of the building have been gutted by a recent fire, but the facade does not appear to be damaged. The house was painted white, and is surrounded by a white picket fence.

The Hi Chung Laundry is the only Chinese American historic building in Elmira. The town does not seem to ever have had a Chinese American community, although there were many Chinese American farm laborers in the surrounding area.

According to the 1880 Census Records, there were nine Chinese Americans in Elmira, all single men. Six of them lived in the household of Hi Chung, a 45 year-old laundryman; the other two were cooks in white households. With Hi Chung were two other laundrymen, Tai Hoy, age 36, and Ho Lung, age 29, who ran the laundry. In addition, the household included two cooks, Lee Hiy, age 32, and Hop Lee, age 22, and two laborers, Sam Wau, age 28, and Wing Yum, age 26. The cooks and laborers may have lived at the laundry and worked elsewhere, or Hi Chung may have had a small restaurant in his establishment, which would have required cooks and laborers. Either way, with a laundry and rooming house or a laundry and restaurant, Hi Chung must have been a hard-working businessman.

When the Hi Chung Laundry was founded or how long it lasted is unknown. It does not appear on the 1870 Census Records, nor does it appear on those of 1900. This was a difficult time for Chinese Americans in the laundry business. Although they had been well accepted as laundrymen from the 1850s to the mid-1870s when no one else was available or wished to do this work, hostility grew as their prosperity grew. Men who previously would not have done "women's work" reconsidered. Organizations were formed to push Chinese Americans out of the laundry business. For example, on November 29, 1876, the Anti-Chinese and Workingmen's Protective Laundry Association was incorporated in San Jose "to carry on the laundry business in all of its branches, in opposition to the Chinese laundrymen and wash houses of the City of San Jose and vicinity, and in the employment of white men and women in the said business, and the accumulation of property and capital for the purpose of carrying

the business on successfully to the exclusion of Mongolian labor under the articles of this incorporation."

Nevada City Chinese American Cemetery

Nevada City, Nevada County

The Nevada City Chinese American Cemetery is located in an uninhabited, densely wooded area, which was until recently covered by thick underbrush. The boundaries of the cemetery and the exact number of graves it holds are unknown, but it is situated on the historic New Mohawk Quartz Mining Claim in Nevada County.

There are three pieces of architecture that identify the location of the cemetery:

1. An unpainted fence and gatepost. The gatepost is about 12 feet high and one foot square. Fragments of a wooden picket fence also remain.
2. A monument. This was originally about five feet high, of elaborately carved and shaped limestone, with a marble headstone in the center and a semicircular floor covering the grave.
3. A square burner for paper money. This was originally made of bricks, and was later covered with cement.

Nevada City was a famous gold mining center, from which a total of \$8,000,000 in placer gold is said to have been taken. It had a large Chinese American community located in the northern part of the "Old Town," which is located one block east of Main Street. Chinese American miners, farmers, lumberjacks, railroad workers, merchants, and various other laborers and tradespeople inhabited the Chinese American section of Nevada City.

Among all the Chinese American cemeteries which once were so numerous throughout California, the Nevada City Chinese American Cemetery is one of the few that still has a burner for paper money and other offerings; parts of its original fence and gate also remain. It is the only one with a monument to a single individual. This individual died in 1891 and must have been quite wealthy and influential, but the name on the monument has been defaced by vandals. Because of its size and elaborateness, the monument was apparently intended as a permanent resting place for the deceased.

Bay Side Canning Company

Alviso, Santa Clara County

The town of Alviso is located in the South San Francisco Bay region, near San Jose.

There are seven buildings, groups of buildings, or sites associated with the Bay Side Canning Company in Alviso:

1. The cold storage plant (formerly Cribari Winery), a vernacular brick commercial building with a wood shake roof on the southwest corner of Hope and Elizabeth streets.
2. The main cannery (formerly Alviso Watch Factory), four brick and concrete buildings with Mission Revival details, on the northwest corner of Hope and Elizabeth streets, owned by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.
3. An office, a small two-story building (greatly modernized), on the southeast corner of Hope and Elizabeth streets.
4. "China Camp," a two-story building (greatly modernized), on the northeast corner of Hope and Elizabeth streets (now called the "Mudflat Refuge").



Bay Side Canning Company, Santa Clara County

5. The site of the apple drier, on the southeast corner of El Dorado and Taylor streets.
6. The site of the Tom Foon Chew Home, on the northeast corner of El Dorado and Taylor streets.
7. The site of cabins, on Mill Street between Hope and El Dorado streets.

The forerunner of the Bay Side Canning Company of Alviso was the Precita Canning Company at Broadway and Sansome streets, San Francisco.

This was founded about 1890 by Sai Yin Chew. Officials and the board of directors were all of Chinese ancestry. After the San Francisco earthquake and fire in 1906, the Precita Canning Company moved to Alviso, and reorganized under the name of the Bay Side Canning Company.

The company rented the Alviso Watch Factory building and later bought the premises. Surrounding land was bought to build warehouses, cabins, and boarding houses for the laborers. A two-story building was built to house 100 Chinese American laborers who came from the San Francisco Bay area.

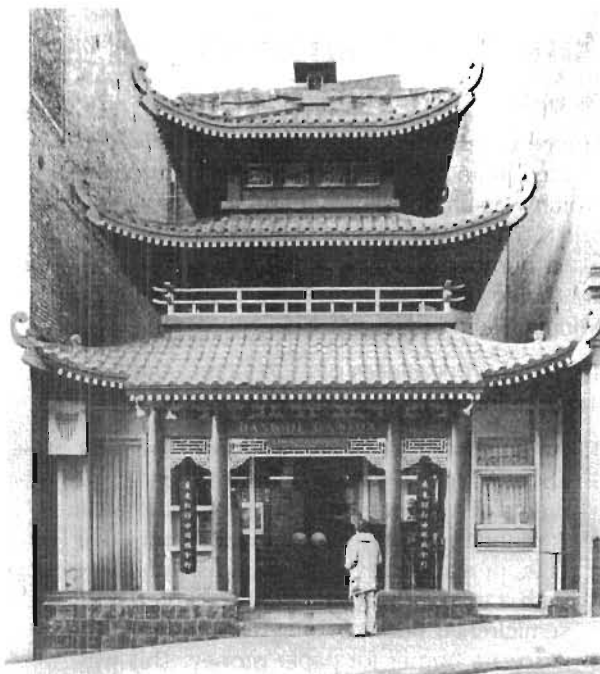
The Bay Side Canning Company plant at Alviso started operations with primitive canning methods and equipment, of which most was hand-made. Steam was supplied by old, donkey-type boilers; open vats were used in processing fruits and vegetables. Hand seamers and hand soldering were used in canning the processed food.

Thomas Foon Chew, son of Sai Yin Chew, began working for his father in 1906. Due to his progressive ideas, the cannery began a period of rapid growth that made it the third largest cannery in the United States at the time. Only Del Monte and Libby were larger. Chew devised a method for washing tomato boxes before their return to the fields, and he bought a tugboat and a barge to transport goods. He also bought land near Yuba City, Sutter County, to grow peaches, and near Dos Palos, Merced County, for rice. When Thomas Foon Chew died in 1931, his funeral attracted 25,000 people and was said to have been the largest in San Francisco's Chinatown.

Raw products were delivered to the cannery by horses and wagons from the Santa Clara Valley. More distant products came by train or boat from the San Joaquin and Sacramento Delta. Commodities canned at the Alviso plant were spinach, asparagus, cherries, apricots, plums, peaches, pears, tomatoes, catsup, tomato sauce, hot sauce, tomato puree, fish sauce, fruits for salad, vegetables for salad, and fruit cocktail.

The Isleton Plant in Sacramento County was built in 1919 for canning spinach and asparagus, and in 1921, Bay Side began canning green, rather than white, asparagus. The Mayfield Plant in Santa Clara

County was built around 1924. The Alviso plant was sold in 1936, but some of the innovative ideas developed by employees of Bay Side Canning Company are still used by most modern canneries.



Chinese American Telephone Exchange

San Francisco

The Chinese American Telephone Exchange Building is located in San Francisco's historic Chinese American community, among tall buildings of brick and concrete. Its distinctive Chinese style is echoed in decorative details on the buildings around it.

This two-story wooden building, with a square ground floor plan, has three curved tile roofs. Its facade has a central glass doorway, protected overhead by an extension of the roof, which is supported by four pillars. The curved roofs end in curling dragon shapes. The roofs decrease in size from bottom to top. The predominant colors are red and gold, with decorative woodwork and railings. A sign, "Bank of Canton" in English, hangs above the doorway, while plaques with Chinese writing hang on either side of the door.

In 1891, the first public telephone pay station was installed in San Francisco's Chinese American community in the offices of the Occidental Newspaper. In 1894, a small switchboard was set up in a

building on the northeast corner of Washington and DuPont (now Grant) streets to serve subscribers to the telephone system.

Telephone operators knew each subscriber by name, so telephone numbers were not necessary. They also knew the addresses and occupations of subscribers, to distinguish between two subscribers of the same name. In addition, they had to know several Chinese dialects as well as English. In 1898, an elaborate new exchange with fine furnishings was established on the southwest corner of Washington and DuPont streets, with Kum Shu Loo as manager. This building was destroyed in the 1906 earthquake.

In 1909, the present building was constructed under the direction of the manager, Kum Shu Loo. When he died in 1926, his son, Kern Loo, took over and kept that job until he died in 1947. At the height of its operations, the telephone exchange had 2,477 subscribers.

In 1949, the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company switched to the dial system, so the telephone exchange went out of business and the building was sold. The Bank of Canton currently occupies the Telephone Exchange building.

Chinese Benevolent Association/ Chinese Social Service Center

San Diego, San Diego County

The two-story structure, measuring 25 feet by 60 feet, is constructed of unreinforced brick, with white stucco coating the front facade. On the ground floor, windows with double-hung, one-over-one sash flank double doors with octagonal windows. A large transom tops the entrance. Access to the second floor is through an entrance at the far left. Chinese characters and their translation, Chinese Benevolent Association, and a decorative screen fill the transom above this door.

The second story has a wooden balcony supported by iron brackets, an iron balustrade, and a pent tile roof. The central double doors are flanked by two windows. The transom above the doors, set in an arched frame, has Chinese characters painted on it. The parapet, with the date of construction (1911) and a flagpole, is divided from the body of the building by three rows of moldings. Traditional Chinese colors are found in the green window and door frames and the red balcony.

On April 20, 1883, the land and structures thereon were sold to Yee Hing and Company by Ida Juch for \$450. Yee Hing and Company removed the existing

tenements and built a Taoist temple, which appears to have been the only Chinese temple constructed in San Diego and thus the religious center of the local Chinese American community at that time. The temple was torn down and replaced by a new building on August 24, 1911. The occupants of the new building were the Gee Goon Tong (also written Chee Kung Tong), famous for their help in plotting Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolution that made China a republic.

In 1920, as an outgrowth of the Tong, the Chinese Benevolent Association was founded to represent and protect the interests of all Chinese Americans in San Diego. Between 1937 and 1946, the Chung Wah School was located in the building. Reverend K. Y. Wong, pastor of the Chinese Congregational Mission, taught Cantonese there. At first the school had only 20 students, but soon the number increased to 60. Recently, the building has housed the Chinese Senior Citizen Center. Opening in 1972, the center aids the city's elderly Chinese and Chinese Americans, focusing on the 130 residents of the area. The building thus is of prime importance as the center of the Chinese American community in San Diego.

Locke

Locke, Sacramento County

This predominantly Chinese American community contains four blocks of one- and two-story frame commercial and residential structures. Many buildings are located along the levee of the Sacramento River, with second-floor porches and loading sheds along the top of the levee. In addition to the buildings, the communal vegetable garden is an integral part of the community.

The buildings date from three distinct periods. The earliest are those built in 1912: the Tules restaurant building, the building across from the Tules on Levee Street, and the building across from the Tules on Main Street.

The second group of buildings was constructed between 1915 and 1919: the Town Hall and six other buildings built by Bing Lee on Main Street -- a restaurant, boarding house, two gambling houses, a dry goods store, and a hardware store.

The third group of buildings was built between 1920 and 1933: the Southern Pacific packing shed and dock, the Star Theater, the soda fountain and grocery store run by Robert Suen, the Locke Christian Center, the post office, single story residences on Key Street, Al Adam's restaurant, the gas station, and other buildings.



Locke is unique in that the town was built by Chinese Americans for Chinese Americans; its population is still largely Chinese American. Its isolation is the result of various alien land laws that prevented early Chinese immigrants and other aliens ineligible for citizenship from owning land in California, and discouraged them from trying to establish permanent communities. They were allowed to live where no one else wanted to be, and were required to move whenever the owner of the land wanted it for other purposes. Chinese Americans were permitted to establish communities in the Sacramento/San Joaquin Delta area because their labor and services were essential for draining swamps, building levees, and growing crops.

The predecessor of the town of Locke was a cluster of three buildings called Lockeport. They were located a mile north of Walnut Grove on the property of George Locke, a long-time Sacramento merchant who had owned farm land in the delta region since the 1880s. Lockeport was constructed by Tin Sin Chan and others from the Chung Shan district in Kwangtung province, China.

When a fire destroyed the Chinese American section of Walnut Grove in October 1915, a division arose in the community between people who had

emigrated from the Chung Shan district and those from the Toi Shan and other districts in Sze Yup ("the four districts"). The people from Sze Yup (mostly from Toi Shan) decided to rebuild their community in Walnut Grove, but those from Chung Shan, speaking a different dialect of Cantonese and observing different customs, decided under the leadership of Bing Lee to relocate to Lockeport.

When the newcomers arrived in Lockeport, the only buildings were a saloon owned by Tin Sin Chan, a boarding house built by Wing Chong Owyang, and a gambling hall built by Yuen Lai Sing. Bing Lee financed construction of six buildings near the first three Chinese American buildings at a cost of \$1,200 for each two-story structure. The buildings were erected against the land side of the levee, fronting a road on top of the levee and with a main street behind and below the levee. Between 1915 and 1920, residents of Lockeport shortened its name to Locke, and it gradually expanded from the original cluster of nine buildings.

Locke eventually had a permanent population of about 400, but at times seasonal crop workers increased this figure to more than a thousand. It had a church, a small Chinese school, a post office, a lodge, a theater, nine restaurants and boarding

houses, five hotels and rooming houses, two saloons, four grocery stores, a hardware and herb store, a fishmarket, two dry goods stores, a dentist's office, two cigar stands, a shoe repair shop, a poolroom, and a bakery. Bordellos also abounded, along with gambling halls.

Although the population of the town of Locke has dropped today to fewer than 100, it still survives as a reminder of the significant contribution the Chinese American people have made to agricultural development and rural life in California, despite racism and discriminatory legislation.

Locke is a California State Historical Landmark and is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

Confucius Church and Community Center

El Centro, Imperial County

The Confucius Church and Community Center is a one-story brick building. Its flat roof projects over the sidewalk, and is supported by five pillars. The bricks at the front of the building are covered with stucco in order to resemble adobe. The only decorative touch is a tile roof edge at the front of the building.

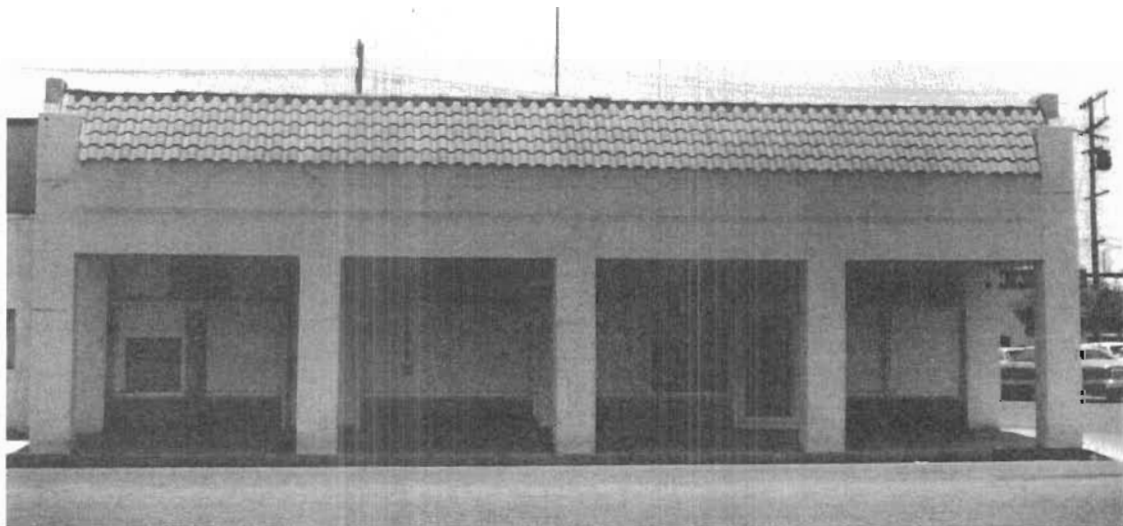
The building was originally designed with four doorways flanked by large store windows, to house four small stores. It has been altered to include only two doorways, and the windows have been painted over for privacy.

The building is located in the main commercial section of El Centro, where the historic Chinese American community was located. The original Confucius Church and Community Center has been torn down. The present church building dates from around 1940, and is the last building of the Chinese American community in El Centro.

Chinese Americans were in Imperial County before it became a county in 1907. They were kept from mining by White miners, and were excluded from agriculture by early development of agribusiness interests in Imperial County. Most of them became small storekeepers and tradesmen.

The *History of Imperial County* gives the account of a traveler who visited Imperial County in 1901. She mentions that her stagecoach stopped under a tent (apparently the stagecoach station), "Kept this time by a Chinaman in payment of the rent, wood and water being furnished him by the owners."

A sizeable Chinese American community developed in El Centro, and the heart of the community was the Confucius Church and Community Center. There were also a Chinese school and some patriotic organizations. Many of the younger generation moved away from El Centro for better opportunities elsewhere. This building is the last one related to the historic Chinese American community in El Centro. Wong Sing, the oldest person in the community, is principal of the Chinese school.



Confucius Church and Community Center, Imperial County

Historical Listing

1. **A. Leu's Feed Store**, Monterey County
 - * 2. **Ah Louis Store**, San Luis Obispo County
 3. **Auburn Chinese American Cemetery**, Placer County
 4. **Auburn Chinese American Community**, Placer County
 5. **Bartlett Springs Toll Road**, Lake County
 - * 6. **Bay Side Canning Company**, Santa Clara County
 7. **Beringer Brothers Winery**, Napa County
 8. **Big Gap Flume**, Tuolumne County
 9. **Bismark Site**, San Bernardino County
 - * 10. **Bodie Chinese American Community**, Mono County
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- * 11. **Bok Kai Miu**, Yuba County
 - * 12. **Brookside Winery**, San Bernardino County
 13. **Buena Vista Store**, Amador County
 14. **Butte Store**, Amador County
 15. **Calexico Chinese American Community Site**, Imperial County
 16. **Caliente Railroad Terminal Site**, Kern County
 17. **California Borax Company Site**, Lake County
 18. **China Beach Site**, Santa Cruz County
 - * 19. **China Camp**, Marin County
 - * 20. **Chinese American Telephone Exchange**, San Francisco
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- * 21. **Chinese Benevolent Association**, San Diego County
 22. **Chinese Bunkhouse**, San Bernardino County
 23. **Chinese Camp**, Tuolumne County
 24. **Chinese Gambling Hall**, Sierra County
 25. **Chinese Fishing Village Site**, San Mateo County
 26. **Chinese Lime Kiln Site**, Kern County
 27. **Chinese Store**, Placer County
 - * 28. **Chinese Temples**, San Luis Obispo County
 29. **Chinese Warehouse (La Casa de Pelanconi)**, Los Angeles County
 - * 30. **Confucius Church and Community Center**, Imperial County

* Sites included in this report

Historical Listing—cont'd.

- * 31. **Double Springs Courthouse**, Calaveras County
 - 32. **Earl Fruit Company Site**, Orange County
 - 33. **Eureka Chinese American Community Site**, Humboldt County
 - * 34. **Fiddletown's Chinese American Community**, Amador County
 - 35. **Folsom Chinese American Cemetery**, Sacramento County
 - 36. **Fong Wah Cemetery**, Siskiyou County
 - 37. **Fresno Chinese American Community**, Fresno County
 - * 38. **Gasquet Toll Road**, Del Norte County
 - * 39. **Haraszthy Buena Vista Vineyards**, Sonoma County
 - * 40. **Harmony Borax Works**, Inyo County
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- * 41. **Hercules Powder Plant**, Contra Costa County
 - * 42. **Hi Chung Laundry**, Solano County
 - 43. **Isleton Chinese American Community**, Sacramento County
 - 44. **John Swett Winery Site**, Contra Costa County
 - * 45. **Ken Ying Low Restaurant**, Santa Clara County
 - 46. **Kong Chow Temple Site**, San Francisco
 - * 47. **L. T. Sue Herb Co.**, Kings County
 - * 48. **Lang Station Site**, Los Angeles County
 - 49. **Let Sing Gong**, Kern County
 - 50. **Liet Sheng Kong**, Butte County
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- 51. **Lincoln Chan Ranch**, Sacramento County
 - * 52. **Locke**, Sacramento County
 - 53. **Los Angeles Chinese American Community**, Los Angeles County
 - * 54. **Los Angeles Massacre Site**, Los Angeles County
 - 55. **Low Divide Road**, Del Norte County
 - 56. **Markleeville Chinese American Cemetery**, Alpine County
 - 57. **Marysville Chinese American Community**, Yuba County
 - 58. **Ming's Store**, Amador County
 - * 59. **Mo Dai Miu (Temple of Kuan Kung)**, Mendocino County
 - * 60. **Nevada City Chinese American Cemetery**, Nevada County
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* Sites included in this report

Historical Listing—cont'd.

- * 61. **Old Chinese Herb Shop**, Nevada County
 - 62. **Oriental Street**, San Bernardino County
 - 63. **Parrott Granite Block Site**, San Francisco
 - 64. **Peking Street**, Ventura County
 - * 65. **Quick Ranch Stone Wall**, Mariposa County
 - 66. **Quincy Chinese American Cemetery**, Plumas County
 - * 67. **Riverside Chinese American Community Site**,
Riverside County
 - 68. **Rocklin City Hall**, Placer County
 - 69. **Salinas Chinese American Community**, Monterey County
 - 70. **Sam Kee Laundry**, Napa County
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- 71. **San Jose Chinese American Cemetery**, Santa Clara County
 - 72. **San Luis Obispo Chinese American Cemetery Site**, San Luis Obispo County
 - 73. **Santa Ana Valley Irrigation Tunnel**, Orange County
 - 74. **Santa Barbara Chinese American Community Site**,
Santa Barbara County
 - 75. **Shasta Chinese American Community**, Shasta County
 - 76. **Sing Kee's Store**, Amador County
 - 77. **Stone House**, El Dorado County
 - 78. **Stone Walls**, Santa Clara County
 - 79. **Suey Hing Benevolent Society**, Santa Cruz County
 - 80. **Suey Sing Store**, Yuba County
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- * 81. **Sulphur Bank Mine**, Lake County
 - 82. **Sun Sun Wo Co.**, Mariposa County
 - 83. **Sze Yup Cemetery**, Trinity County
 - 84. **Taoist Temple**, Kings County
 - 85. **Taoist Temple**, San Joaquin County
 - 86. **Wah Hop Store and China Bank**, El Dorado County
 - 87. **Walnut Grove Chinese American Community**,
Sacramento County
 - * 88. **Way-Aft-Whyle**, Lake County
 - 89. **Wells Fargo Co./Chinese Laundry**, Nevada County
 - 90. **Wheatland Chinese American Cemetery**, Yuba County
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* Sites included in this report

Historical Listing—cont'd.

- 91. **Wing Chong Store**, Monterey County
- 92. **Wong Mansion**, San Joaquin County
- * 93. **Won Lim Miu (Temple)**, Trinity County
- 94. **Yreka Chinese American Cemetery**, Siskiyou County



Fresno Chinese American Community, Fresno County

*** Sites included in this report**

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A History of JAPANESE AMERICANS in California

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The history of ethnic minorities in California is characterized by adversity, hard work, community initiative, heartache, triumphs, indomitable spirits, and hope for the future. People of color in the United States have often been depicted as helpless victims of discriminatory practices and legislation, with little appreciation of their strengths, how they struggled with adversity, and how they established and defined themselves in all aspects of their lives. What has been of value to their communities has frequently gone undocumented; neither their spirit nor their energy has been fully depicted. This is as true for Japanese Americans in California as for other minorities.

Concern for these matters influenced the selection of places associated with the history of Japanese Americans in California. That is, the places selected for inclusion in this report not only relate to the Japanese experience in California, they also reflect the attempts of Japanese Americans to establish themselves in all aspects of life -- economically, educationally, socially, religiously, politically, and artistically. The selected properties reflect both events and actions directed against Japanese Americans, as well as the efforts they made to determine the nature and direction of their own lives.

One of the first groups of settlers that came from Japan to the United States, the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm Colony under the leadership of John Schnell, arrived at Gold Hill, El Dorado County, in June 1869. Additional colonists arrived in the fall of 1869. These first immigrants brought mulberry trees, silk cocoons, tea plants, bamboo roots, and other agricultural products. The U.S. Census of 1870 showed 55 Japanese in the United States; 33 were in California, with 22 living at Gold Hill. Within a few years of the colony's founding, the colonists had dispersed, their agricultural venture a failure.

A HISTORY OF JAPANESE AMERICANS IN CALIFORNIA

by
*Isami Arifuku Waugh
and Alex Yamato*

Immigration



Japanese Picture Brides at Angel Island, Marin County [circa 1919]

The 1880 Census showed 86 Japanese in California, with a total of 148 in the United States. Possibly these were students, or Japanese who had illegally left their country, since Japanese laborers were not allowed to leave their country until after 1884 when an agreement was signed between the Japanese government and Hawaiian sugar plantations to allow labor immigration. From Hawaii, many Japanese continued on to the United States mainland. In 1890, 2,038 Japanese resided in the United States; of this number, 1,114 lived in California.

Laborers for the Hawaiian sugar plantations were carefully chosen. In 1868, a group of Japanese picked off the streets of Yokohama and shipped to Hawaii had proved to be unsatisfactory. Thereafter, a systematic method of recruiting workers from specific regions in Japan was established. Natives from Hiroshima, Kumamoto, Yamaguchi, and Fukushima were sought for their supposed expertise in agriculture, for their hard work, and for their willingness to travel. Immigrants to California from these prefectures constituted the largest numbers of Japanese in the state.

Except for a temporary suspension of immigration to Hawaii in 1900, the flow of immigration from Japan remained relatively unaffected until 1907-08, when agitation from white supremacist organizations, labor unions, and politicians resulted in the "Gentlemen's Agreement," curtailing further immigration of laborers from Japan. A provision in the Gentlemen's Agreement, however, permitted wives and children of laborers, as well as laborers who had already been in the United States, to continue to enter the country. Until that time, Japanese immigrants had been primarily male. The 1900 Census indicates that only 410 of 24,326 Japanese were female. From 1908 to 1924, Japanese women continued to immigrate to the United States, some as "picture brides."

In Japan, arranged marriages were the rule. Go-betweens arranged marriages between compatible males and females, based on careful matching of socio-economic status, personality, and family background. With the advent of photography, an exchange of photographs became a first step in this long process. Entering the bride's name in the groom's family registry legally constituted marriage. Those Japanese males who could afford the cost of traveling to Japan returned there to be married. Others resorted to long-distance, arranged marriages. The same procedure that would have occurred if the groom were in Japan was adhered to, and the bride would immigrate to the United States as the wife of a laborer. Not all issei were married in this manner, but many were. For wives who entered after 1910, the first glimpse of the United States was the Detention Barracks at Angel Island in San Francisco Bay. New immigrants were processed there, and given medical exams. As a result, this was the place where most "picture brides" saw their new husbands for the first time.

Those hoping to rid California of its Japanese population thought the Gentlemen's Agreement would end Japanese immigration. Instead, the Japanese population of California increased, both through new immigration and through childbirth. Anti-Japanese groups, citing the entry of "picture brides," complained that the Gentlemen's Agreement was being violated. A movement to totally exclude Japanese immigrants eventually succeeded with the Immigration Act of 1924. That legislation completely curtailed immigration from Japan until 1952 when an allotment of 100 immigrants per year was designated. A few refugees entered the country during the mid-1950s, as did Japanese wives of United States servicemen.

The pattern of immigration has left its mark on Japanese communities to this day. While immigrants before 1924 were uniformly young, the delay in immigration of women resulted in many marriages in which the

husband was considerably older than the wife. Immigration of women between 1908 and 1924 also meant that the majority of children (nisei) were born within a period of 20 years, 1910-1930. Researchers during World War II noted that rather than a normal curve, the Japanese population in the United States was bi-modal -- an age group for the original immigrants and another for their children. This has influenced the ways in which Japanese communities have been organized, e.g., the need every 25 years or so to have facilities and organizations oriented to children, with long periods of time when such facilities were not needed. Consequently, large numbers of nisei would enter the job market at the same time, and they would have children at about the same time. The immigration pattern is also reflected today among issei who are still living. The vast majority are women. Eighty-five percent of the clientele of Kimochi-Kai and other Japanese senior citizen organizations in California's major cities are women.

Most Japanese immigrants entered the United States through San Francisco. Other ports-of-entry were Portland, Oregon and Seattle, Washington. As a result, the first large settlement of Japanese in California was in San Francisco. U.S. Census figures trace the movement and settlement of Japanese over the years.

In 1890, 590 Japanese were in San Francisco, with 184 in Alameda County and 51 in Sacramento County. A scattering of residents appeared throughout California, with the smallest number in the Southern California area. Little is known about these early Japanese immigrants. Speculation is that they worked for the railroad, were laborers, or performed miscellaneous tasks, such as chopping wood or domestic service. By 1890, the move into agricultural work had begun in the Vacaville area, Solano County. By then a Japanese had been buried in the Visalia Public Cemetery in Tulare County, and labor contractors were beginning to gather new immigrants to work in a number of industries such as the railroads, oil fields, and agriculture.

By 1900, the same Northern California counties still had the largest numbers of Japanese, but the population had increased tremendously with movement into other parts of the state. San Francisco had 1,781 Japanese, Sacramento County 1,209, and Alameda County 1,149. In addition, Monterey County had 710, Fresno County 598, San Joaquin County 313, Santa Clara County 284, Contra Costa County 276, and Santa Cruz County 235. Agricultural work drew immigrants to what were then rural areas. In many communities, *nihonmachi* (Japanese sections of town) were developed, with establishment of small businesses catering to the needs of immigrants. By 1900, Southern California had a Japanese population of approximately 500, with the largest concentration in Los Angeles County. But already the immigrants had begun efforts to establish themselves. Ulysses Shinsei Kaneko, for example, became one of the first Japanese naturalized in California, in San Bernardino County in 1896. Businesses in towns and cities had been in operation for almost a decade. Buddhist churches and Japanese Christian churches had been established earlier. Japanese had purchased property, and a few nisei children had been born.

City trades included domestic service and businesses catering to other Japanese -- boarding houses, restaurants, barbershops, bathhouses, gambling houses, and pool halls. Labor contractors drew immigrants away from the cities to work for the railroads, canneries, and farms. Japanese laborers were an important element in California agriculture by the turn of the century.

Patterns of Settlement and Occupational Characteristics

Other immigrants initiated their own enterprises and industries. Some of these included industries the Chinese had pioneered earlier. Fishing and abalone industries developed at White Point and Santa Monica Canyon in Los Angeles County, and at Point Lobos in Monterey County. Kinji Ushijima, also known as George Shima, continued the reclamation work begun by Chinese in the Sacramento/San Joaquin Delta. Shima eventually reclaimed more than 100,000 acres of land with the help of many laborers. The land now grows potatoes, asparagus, onions, and other produce.

Between 1900 and 1910, Japanese began to buy property and establish farms, vineyards, and orchards. All-Japanese communities developed in agricultural areas in central California, including Florin in Sacramento County (which the Japanese called *Taishoku*), Bowles in Fresno County, and the Yamato Colony at Livingston in Merced County.

By 1910, a distinct change had occurred in the California Japanese population, which then numbered 41,356. A move to the southern part of the state began, and the number of women in the community steadily increased. By the late 1920s, females constituted one-third of the Japanese population. Los Angeles County became the most populous Japanese settlement, with 8,461, and has remained so to this day. A major stimulus for the move south was the rapid expansion of the Los Angeles area during the Southern California boom period. Many Japanese also migrated to Los Angeles in 1906 after the San Francisco earthquake.

San Francisco remained the second most populous, however, with 4,518 Japanese. Next came Sacramento County with 3,874, Alameda County with 3,266, Santa Clara County with 2,299, and Fresno County with 2,233. Other counties having more than 1,000 Japanese included Contra Costa, Monterey, and San Joaquin. The large increases in the population were a reflection of unrestricted immigration of male laborers until 1908, entrance of Japanese women into the United States, and the resultant increase in the birth of children. Numerous *nihonmachi* had been estab-



Yamato Colony, Merced County, [circa 1911]

lished in California, ranging from Selma's one block of businesses catering to Japanese in Fresno County, to whole sections of town in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Jose.

The Japanese population of Los Angeles County more than doubled by 1920, increasing to 19,911, more than three times as many as the next most populous county, Sacramento, with 5,800. California's total Japanese population numbered 71,952. Fresno County had 5,732, San Francisco 5,358, and Alameda 5,221. San Joaquin County increased its population of Japanese to 4,354. Other counties with Japanese populations of more than 1,000 included Monterey, Orange, Placer, San Diego, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, and Tulare. This population increase was due almost totally to the immigration of women and the birth of children. By this time, the economic basis of the Japanese community had been firmly established in agriculture and its offshoots -- wholesaling, retailing, distributing. The Japanese organized their produce and flower industries vertically, resulting in a system in which all operations were owned and operated by Japanese, from raising the plants to retail sales. This resulted in organizations such as the Southern California Flower Market in Los Angeles, the California Flower Market in San Francisco, Lucky Produce in Sacramento, and the City Market in Los Angeles. Cooperatives like Naturipe in Watsonville, Santa Cruz County, were organized to improve the growing, packing, and marketing of crops produced by Japanese farmers.

Small businesses were numerous at this time. Many of the "city trades" were directly tied to rural occupations, particularly agricultural labor. Businesses such as boarding houses, hotels, restaurants, barber shops, and gambling houses were dependent on the constant traffic of single male laborers who traveled a circuit in California from one crop to the next, from the Imperial Valley to the Sacramento Valley. The Miyajima Hotel, a boarding house in Lodi, San Joaquin County, was one such business catering to agricultural laborers. Other city businesses were also oriented toward farming interests. For example, a number of Japanese entrepreneurs operating general merchandise stores had regular routes to the surrounding



Concord Nippon Gakko, Contra Costa County, [circa 1926]



Terminal Island, Los Angeles County, [circa 1919]

countryside, taking orders and making deliveries for food and other supplies. Kamikawa Brothers in Fresno and Tsuda's in Auburn provided this service.

During the decade of 1910-20, Japanese farmers became important producers and growers of crops: Truck farming along the coast, in the Central Valley, and in Southern California; grapes and tree fruit in the Central Valley and Southern California; strawberries in a number of different locations; and rice in Northern California. Japanese were very much involved in experimenting with different strains of rice at the Biggs Rice Experiment Station in Butte County where Kenju Ikuta demonstrated that rice could be produced commercially. In addition, a large number of other Japanese were engaged in farming, distributing, and retailing of rice during this period. In later decades, Keisaburo Koda, known among the Japanese as the "rice king," established a ranch near Dos Palos in Merced County, where he produced new strains of rice.

The 1930 census shows that Los Angeles County still had the most Japanese, almost doubling its population, to 35,390. California's Japanese population numbered 97,456. Los Angeles had more than four times as many Japanese as did the second county, Sacramento, which had 8,114. Close in number were San Francisco with 6,250, Alameda with 5,715, Fresno with 5,280, San Joaquin with 4,339, and Santa Clara with 4,320. Again, the increase can be attributed to immigration of Japanese women as well as the birth of children. Because immigration was totally curtailed in 1924, however, the birth of children probably was the more important reason, numerically speaking. Another source for population increases was migration from other parts of the country. Some Japanese residents of Seattle, Washington, for example, moved to Los Angeles County during the 1930s because of increased economic opportunities during a period of nationwide depression.

This period, however, was a time of growth for most *nihonmachi* throughout California. Almost every agricultural area with a population of Japanese residents had a flourishing Japanese section of town. Cooperatives established in previous years were functioning at their peak. Nisei children were in schools and beginning to enter the labor market. This subtle change can be noted in such things as Japanese-language newspapers adding English sections to their publications, and Japanese church youth organizations being organized.



Little Tokyo, Los Angeles County, [circa 1919]

The 1940 census shows little change from the 1930 figures. During this decade, the Japanese population of California decreased from 97,456 to 93,717, although a few counties like Los Angeles continued to increase. During the years 1942-45, Japanese Americans were incarcerated in 10 fenced and guarded concentration camps. Two of these camps were located in California: Manzanar in Inyo County and Tule Lake in Modoc County. The camp at Tule Lake did not close until March 1946. Encouraged by the War Relocation Authority to resettle in the East and Midwest, approximately one-third of the internees chose this alternative. Some never returned to the West Coast.

Those who did return had to rebuild lives that had been dramatically altered by the concentration camp experience. In some communities, one-third or more of the Japanese population did not return. Moreover, some *nihonmachi* did not survive. Non-Japanese businesses and residents had moved into sections of town previously occupied by Japanese Americans. The war was also a turning point in generational control of businesses, churches, and community politics, as the adult children of immigrants began to dominate in all spheres of Japanese activities.

The Japanese population of California decreased to 84,956, according to the 1950 census. Los Angeles County had the largest population, with 36,761. San Francisco, Alameda, Fresno, Sacramento, and Santa Clara counties each had 4,000-6,000 Japanese residents. This period was one of intensive efforts to re-establish Japanese American communities. After serving as hostels for returning internees, churches re-instituted their usual activities and services. The struggle for economic survival began anew. Those *nihonmachi* able to be rebuilt were again the centers of the Japanese American community, but were less oriented to the immigrant generation. For example, during the 1930s, landscape gardening emerged as an occupation. It gained in importance after World War II as the numbers of *nisei* working as gardeners increased.

The decade 1950-60 saw almost a doubling of the Japanese population in California, to 157,317. Los Angeles County again led the state with 77,314, more than seven times the number in Santa Clara County, which had 10,432 Japanese residents. This large increase is generally attributed to the birth of *sansei*, the third generation of Japanese. A secondary but far less important reason numerically was the gradual return to the West Coast of individuals who had resettled to other areas during the World War II internment. A minor increase may also be attributed to Japanese women immigrating from Asia as wives of U.S. servicemen.

The birth of children resulted in a resurgence of activities in churches, Japanese-language schools, and athletic leagues. The Japanese population had made the transition from a rural to an urban population with the economic base less oriented to agriculture, although this was still important. In urban areas, Japanese women frequently worked in secretarial-clerical positions, while men obtained jobs in technical-professional areas. This pattern generally holds true today, although with *sansei* children in their adult years now, there is increasing technical and professional training, and occupations of greater diversity for both males and females.

Organizations and Religious Practices

The first Japanese American community organization of record in the United States was the Gospel Society or Fukuin Kai, established in October 1877 in San Francisco. The Gospel Society offered English classes, operated a boarding house, and provided a place for Japanese to meet. With the influence of White Christians, the religious orientation of the society developed. Out of this organization eventually came the Japanese Christian churches, some of which were established in the 1890s.

The issei established three types of organizations in the communities they settled: churches, political/social organizations called by various names, and Japanese-language schools. Churches, whether Christian, Buddhist, or Shinto, were the focus of activity for most Japanese communities, and often were the earliest organizations to be established. Subsequently, churches expanded beyond religious services as women's organizations (*fujinkai*) became active, and youth groups were established with the advent of children. The churches provided both religious sustenance and a social life. It is estimated that before World War II, 85 percent of Japanese were Buddhist. Possibly the sole Japanese American community with only a Christian church was Livingston (Yamato Colony). During the World War II internment, churches served as storage centers for personal property left behind by Japanese Americans, and as hostels for returning evacuees. The churches themselves organized into umbrella groups such as the Buddhist Churches of America, the Japanese Evangelical Mission Society, the Holiness Conference, and the Northern and Southern California Christian Church Federation. Most of the original congregations still exist today.

The political/social organizations were organized under different names, depending on the community. Some of these names were *doshikai*, *kyogikai*, and *nihonjinkai* (Japanese Association). All Japanese were assumed to belong to political/social organizations which dealt with issues affecting the total Japanese American community. Often, they had their own offices or buildings for conducting business and holding meetings. Association leaders were spokespersons for the community in dealings with the larger community, and worked as intermediaries in differences of opinion or conflicts. Decisions were made by male members of the organization. Sometimes, a women's organization (*fujinkai*) was attached to this organization. Many of these organizations died with the World War II internment. Properties were signed over to the nisei, and records were lost or destroyed during this period. Today, only a few of the original organizations still exist and function.



Shonien, Los Angeles County



Nishi Hongwanji Buddhist Church, Los Angeles County

As nisei children grew older, Japanese-language schools flourished throughout the state. The first Japanese-language school of record in the state was Shogakko in San Francisco, established in 1902. By the 1930s, virtually every Japanese American community had its own *nihongakko* (Japanese-language school) operated by a church or Japanese association. Some communities had two or more schools. Occasionally, both Buddhist and Christian churches in a community supported their own Japanese-language schools. Teachers were often church ministers, their wives, or well-educated persons in the community. Occasionally, a dormitory was built in conjunction with the Japanese-language school, as in Fresno, Guadalupe, and Sacramento, where children of busy parents would live at the school. Many of these schools closed with the incarceration of West Coast Japanese American residents during World War II. In many communities, however, a revival of Japanese-language schools occurred during the 1950s and 1960s, when the sansei generation became of school age. Currently, some communities still operate Japanese-language schools, but their numbers are small.

Persons originating from the same area in Japan formed *kenjinkai*, which are social organizations designed to support, aid, and acquaint fellow *kenjin* (persons from the same prefecture). Social services in the form of financial aid, informal counseling, and care for the sick or injured were functions of these groups. Communities had one *kenjinkai* if the Japanese American community was primarily composed of people from the same area of Japan. If the community was large, as in Los Angeles, many *kenjinkai* existed, reflecting the different geographic origins of the immigrants. Very few exist today.

Particularly in agricultural areas, cooperatives to grow, ship, and market agricultural products emerged, giving issei farmers greater control over their economic destinies. Some of these cooperatives including Lucky Produce in Sacramento, Naturipe in Watsonville, the California Flower Market in San Francisco, and the City Market in Los Angeles are still operating today.

The Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) emerged as the largest nisei organization. Organized in 1930, with headquarters now in San Francisco, JACL gained prominence as an organization during the World War II internment, when issei leaders were separately detained and the War Relocation Authority refused to allow the immigrant generation



Japan Town, San Francisco County, [circa 1920]



Morning Star School, San Francisco County

leadership positions. With chapters throughout the country, JACL speaks for a certain segment of the Japanese American community.

Nisei also provided leadership in Christian and Buddhist churches. Due to an “integration” move in Christian churches, Japanese Christian Churches have removed the “Japanese” designation, and have adopted names that make it difficult to identify them as ethnic churches. Many Japanese Americans now attend churches with non-Japanese congregations. Coupled with the fact that many Japanese Americans attend no church at all, it becomes difficult to evaluate religious preference. Of those that do belong to a church, their preference still remains either Christian or Buddhist.

Japanese American community organizations have been in existence since 1877, serving the changing needs of their members. A relatively recent phenomenon is senior citizens’ centers, where programs geared to the needs and interests of *issei* are carried out by second- and third-generation Japanese Americans. Some of these include Kimochikai in San Francisco, the Pioneer Center in Los Angeles, the Nikkei Service Center in Fresno, the Suisun Nisei Club in Suisun City (Solano County), and the Asian Community Center in Sacramento.

Discriminatory Practices

As with most people of color, Japanese Americans have suffered a variety of discriminatory practices, legislation, and restrictions. Perhaps this could have been expected considering the initial conditions under which Japanese were originally enticed to immigrate to the United States—as only a source of labor, with no plans for them to stay and participate actively in the life of the society.

Even as a source of labor, Japanese immigrants were criticized for being too numerous. They were seen as unassimilable and potentially capable of overrunning the state. The Asiatic Exclusion League, formed in May 1905, mounted a campaign to exclude Japanese and Koreans from the United States. Under pressure from the league, the San Francisco Board of Education ruled on October 11, 1906 that all Japanese and Korean students should join the Chinese at the segregated Oriental School that had been established in 1884. There were 93 Japanese students in the 23 San Francisco public schools at that time. Twenty-five of those students had been born in the United States.

To appease those Californians who were agitating for cessation of Japanese immigration without offending the Japanese government, President Theodore Roosevelt negotiated the 1907-08 Gentlemen’s Agreement, whereby the Japanese government agreed not to issue passports to laborers immigrating to the United States. However, parents, wives, and children of laborers already in the United States could immigrate, as well as laborers who had already been here.

This agreement nevertheless stimulated the anti-Japanese movement. Rather than cutting off all immigration from Japan, the agreement resulted in a steady stream of Japanese women entering California. Soon thereafter, children were born, resulting in increases in the Japanese population, rather than decreases. Arranged marriage, sometimes with the exchange of photographs, was the accepted mode of contracting marriages in Japanese society. This practice allowed male *issei* immigrants to marry, and to send for their brides to join them in this country. The effect was to bolster the stereotyped image of Japanese as being sneaky and untrustworthy, even though the provisions of the Gentlemen’s Agreement were being scrupulously maintained.

As the Japanese American population steadily increased, through immigration of picture brides and the birth of nisei children, anti-Japanese forces regrouped after World War I. Charges were made that the Japanese birth rate was three times as high as the general population's. The fact that Japanese females in prime child-bearing years were compared with White women from 15 to 45 years of age was not mentioned. The unassimilability of Japanese was charged. As part of the Immigration Act of 1924, immigration from Japan was completely cut off for 28 years.

Beginning in January 1909 and continuing until after World War II, anti-Japanese bills were introduced into the California legislature every year. The first to become law was the Webb-Hartley Law (known more commonly as the Alien Land Law of 1913), which limited land leases by "aliens ineligible to citizenship" to three years, and barred further land purchases. Amendments to this law in 1919 and 1920 further restricted land leasing agreements. Although the law contains no mention of Asians by name, it is clear that "aliens ineligible to citizenship" included, among others, Japanese, a group without access to U.S. citizenship and the target of anti-Asian groups during this period.

The issue of U.S. citizenship eventually was decided by the 1922 Supreme Court decision of *Takao Ozawa v. United States*, which declared that Japanese were ineligible for U.S. citizenship. "Free white persons" were made eligible for U.S. citizenship by Congress in 1790. "Aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent" were similarly designated by Congress in 1870. Due to some ambiguity about the term "white," some 420 Japanese had been naturalized by 1910, but a ruling by a U.S. attorney general to stop issuing naturalization papers to Japanese ended the practice in 1906. Ozawa had filed his naturalization papers in 1914. In 1922, the U.S. Supreme Court judged that since Ozawa was neither a "free white person" nor an African by birth or descent, he did not have the right of naturalization as a Mongolian.

Influenced by the anti-Japanese movement, an amendment to the State Political Code in 1921 allowed establishment of separate schools for children of Indian, Chinese, Japanese, or Mongolian parentage. These children were not to be integrated into other public schools once separate schools were established. School districts in Sacramento County elected to maintain separate schools in the communities of Florin, Walnut Grove, Isleton, and Courtland. Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino children in these school districts attended segregated schools until World War II. In 1945, a Japanese American family challenged the constitutionality of segregated schools, and the Los Angeles County Superior Court concurred that segregation on the basis of race or ancestry violated the Fourteenth Amendment. The California legislature repealed the 1921 provision in 1947.

The most widely perpetrated discriminatory action toward West Coast Japanese Americans was the internment camp policy of World War II, which was set into motion by the signing of Executive Order 9066 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The executive order did not mention Japanese Americans by name, but the designation of military areas and the decision to exclude certain persons from these areas was directed toward Japanese Americans. Thirteen temporary detention camps in California were hastily established to hold Japanese Americans until more permanent camps in remote sections of the country could be constructed.

After Executive Order 9066 was issued, the vast majority of public proclamations emanating from Lt. General John DeWitt, Commander of the Western Defense Command, were directed toward controlling the movement and freedom of Japanese Americans. Similarly, the civilian ex-

clusion orders, issued by DeWitt, directed Japanese Americans along the West Coast to report for detention at designated times and places.

Incarceration policy was challenged by Gordon Hirabayashi, who violated curfew regulations in the state of Washington; Fred Korematsu of Oakland, who was prosecuted for knowingly remaining in an area forbidden by military orders; Minoru Yasui, who was prosecuted for violation of curfew orders as a test case; and Mitsuye Endo of Sacramento, who claimed unlawful detention. None of the judgments that resulted from these cases dealt directly with the constitutionality of incarcerating more than 120,000 Japanese Americans. But *Ex parte Endo*, issued December 16, 1944, did result in the rescinding of exclusion orders, effective January 2, 1945, which eventually closed the 10 concentration camps in the United States.

During the internment years, several legislative actions affected thousands of Japanese Americans. A California statute of 1943, amended in 1945, prohibited "aliens ineligible to citizenship" from earning their living as commercial fishermen in coastal waters. Torao Takahashi brought suit, and after a tortuous sequence of events, including a U.S. Supreme Court ruling that the statute was unconstitutional, resident alien Japanese fishermen were again allowed to fish the waters off the California coast in 1948.

In 1944, a federal statute amended the Nationality Act of 1940 to permit U.S. citizens to renounce citizenship during wartime. The Department of Justice intended that leaders of disturbances at the Tule Lake Segregation Center renounce their citizenship, therefore making themselves eligible for further detention when the camps were dismantled. Instead, 5,522 renunciations came from Japanese Americans (5,371 were from persons confined at Tule Lake), rather than the several hundred expected from pro-Japan elements. When the concentration camps were closed, many internees regretted renouncing their U.S. citizenship, citing coercion, intimidation, and fears of hostility by the dominant society. Lawsuits to revalidate citizenship continued until 1965, including *Abo v. Clark* (77 F. Supp. 806), which returned U.S. citizenship to 4,315 nisei.

During World War II, while Japanese and Japanese Americans were unable to defend themselves in court, California's Attorney General was allocated additional funds to prosecute violations of the Alien Land Law of 1913. A total of 79 cases were prosecuted, including 59 after the war. The first challenge to the Alien Land Law was *Harada v. State of California*, in which the Superior Court of Riverside County declared in 1918 that Jukichi Harada could purchase property in the name of his children, who were U.S. citizens though still minors. Subsequent court cases in other jurisdictions had differing results, some ruling that minor children could not own property.

Two escheat cases had particular significance in invalidating the Alien Land Law. The case of *Oyama v. State of California* in 1948 determined that non-citizen parents could purchase land as gifts for citizen children. The *Fujii v. State of California* case in 1952 resulted in the Alien Land Law of 1913 being declared unconstitutional. Legal obstacles to land purchases by Asians were thus removed.

To provide partial restitution for losses and damages resulting from the internment, an Evacuation Claims Act was passed by Congress. While losses by Japanese Americans were conservatively estimated to be around \$400,000,000, only 10 percent of this amount was disbursed to former internees. The issue remains alive today in 1981, with the establishment of a Congressional Commission to investigate the historical, legal, economi-

cal, and psychological impacts of the forced internment of over 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry during World War II.

Japanese Americans have also endured informal discriminatory practices. Shopping, dining, and recreational activities at some business establishments were denied to Japanese Americans in previous years. Restrictive covenants in housing affected where they lived. When deceased members of the highly decorated 442nd Combat team were returned to the United States after World War II, some cemeteries refused to allow them gravesites because of their ancestry. In the past, some occupations have been closed to Japanese Americans, yet others such as gardening have been considered particularly suitable for their temperament, skills, and social standing in the society. Outward manifestations of discriminatory practices toward Japanese Americans can be subtle, but are still very much in existence as recent legal cases involving discrimination in employment promotion indicate.



St. Andrews Methodist Church, Kern County, [circa 1929]

INCARCERATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS DURING WORLD WAR II

by Raymond Y. Okamura

Temporary detention camps called Assembly Centers represented an early phase of the mass incarceration of 92,785 Californians of Japanese ancestry during World War II.

Japanese Americans were held at these temporary detention camps for two to seven months until they were transferred to one of the permanent concentration camps. An entire population of loyal and productive Californians was eliminated from the public scene.

The incarceration of Japanese Americans had a profound effect on the military, political, and economic affairs of the state at the time, and the episode remains a major blot on the history of American law. United States citizens and lawful permanent residents were imprisoned without charges, without evidence, without trial, and in violation of every basic constitutional right.

In the years preceding World War II, racist discrimination against Asian Americans was a fact of life on the West Coast. Discrimination in housing, employment, education, public accommodations, and social relations was pervasive. Moreover, the media constantly reinforced negative stereotypes: newspapers, radio, movies, comic strips, and pulp novels inundated the public with lurid tales of Japanese spies and saboteurs. This historical background is indispensable for an understanding of what happened to Japanese Americans during the war years.

Japan had been waging war in Asia since 1937, and United States relations with Japan had steadily worsened. With the expectation of war, the U.S. Government undertook precautionary measures. In October 1941, the State Department ordered a covert investigation of Japanese American communities on the West Coast and Hawaii. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the military intelligence services intensified secret surveillance programs which had been in existence for several years. All of these intelligence reports certified that the Japanese American population as a whole posed no threat to national security.

When global war finally came to the United States on December 7, 1941, the government was well prepared to handle domestic security. Using previously prepared lists, the FBI summarily arrested over 2,000 Japanese nationals during the first few days of the war. No criminal charges were ever filed against these individuals. They were considered suspicious simply because of their leadership positions in the Japanese American community. Organization officers, Buddhist and Shinto priests, newspaper editors, language and martial arts instructors were all imprisoned at one of 26 internment camps operated by the Justice Department. Dependents were left without a source of livelihood, and the Japanese American community was stripped of its established leadership.

Like the previous immigration campaigns, California politicians and pressure groups lobbied the federal government to remove or lock up all Japanese Americans. Even though Attorney General Francis Biddle and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover advised against it, President Franklin D. Roosevelt authorized the mass expulsion and incarceration of Japanese Americans by signing Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942. The order itself was carefully worded to avoid constitutional challenges. It did not single out a specific group, nor did it say people were to be locked up. But there was a common understanding that Executive Order 9066 was designed primarily for the purpose of removing and imprisoning Japanese Americans. With no public demand for locking up German Americans or Italian Americans, the government chose to forego the theoretical option of incarcerating descendants of the European enemy nations as well. On February 20,



Manzanar Camp, Inyo County

Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson designated Lt. General John L. DeWitt, head of the Western Defense Command, to carry out the intent of Executive Order 9066.

The first action under authority of Executive Order 9066 was the expulsion of the entire Japanese American community from Terminal Island (San Pedro Bay, Los Angeles County) on February 25-27. Armed soldiers marched into the old fishing village and ordered every person of Japanese ancestry, including native-born Americans, to leave their homes within 48 hours. The majority of Terminal Island residents were United States citizens, but they were evicted without legal recourse of any kind. The eviction was especially harsh because most of the men had been arrested earlier by the FBI and the move had to be made almost entirely by women and children. The government made no provisions for alternative housing, and some 2,000 Japanese Americans became displaced persons.

On March 2, DeWitt declared the western halves of California, Oregon, and Washington plus the southern half of Arizona as "Military Area #1," and announced his intention to remove every person of Japanese ancestry therefrom. Japanese Americans were urged to "voluntarily" give up their homes and jobs before they were forcibly expelled by the army. A total of 10,312 Japanese Americans hurriedly left the proscribed areas, with 4,310 moving to the eastern side of California, which was then a "free zone."

On March 11, DeWitt created the Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA) as a sub-unit of the Western Defense Command and appointed Colonel Karl R. Bendetsen as the military director responsible for implementation of the expulsion and detention program. In the meantime, Congress passed Public Law 77-503 on March 21 which made it a federal offense for a civilian to disobey a military order issued under authority of Executive Order 9066.

On March 24, all Japanese Americans on Bainbridge Island, Washington were ordered to report for imprisonment under "Civilian Exclusion Order #1." Subsequently, "Civilian Exclusion Order #2" issued on March 30 applied to the Long Beach-San Pedro area in California. Eventually, 108 separate "Civilian Exclusion Orders" were issued, each applying to a different locale in Arizona, California, Oregon, and Washington. Japanese Americans were directed to bring only what they could carry in their hands and turn themselves in at a "Civil Control Station" near their homes. Upon reporting, they were registered, numbered, tagged with ship-



Entrance to Manzanar Camp, Inyo County

ping labels, and placed aboard buses, trains, and trucks under armed guard for transportation to one of the 15 Temporary Detention Camps. From that point on, Japanese Americans became prisoners of their own country. On arrival at the camps, they were forced to submit to body and baggage searches, fingerprinting, and long interrogations about their background.

Japanese Americans were imprisoned on the basis of ancestry alone. There was no evidence they had done anything illegal or were dangerous in any way. Native-born Americans were locked up without charges or trial and in complete disregard for their constitutional rights.

DeWitt gave the rationale of "military necessity" to protect the West Coast against sabotage in case of invasion, but such a claim was contrary to the actual U.S. Army "estimate of the situation" which concluded that an invasion of the West Coast was extremely unlikely. The claim was also inconsistent with the fact that Japanese Americans in Hawaii were not similarly incarcerated en masse. Hawaii was the site of the Pearl Harbor attack, some 3,000 miles closer to the enemy, and in far greater danger of invasion. There were 159,534 Japanese Americans in Hawaii, comprising 34.2% of the population, but Lt. General Delos Emmons, the military commander in Hawaii, decided that "military necessity" there required the Japanese Americans to remain free and help in the war effort.

The "military necessity" excuse was further contradicted by the fact that babies, children, bedridden old people, blind or paralyzed persons -- people incapable of committing acts of sabotage or espionage -- were also incarcerated. Even orphans in institutions and children adopted by White families were imprisoned if they had any Japanese ancestry at all.

By March 24, all Japanese Americans were placed on a dusk-to-dawn curfew. On March 27, DeWitt abruptly prohibited any further "voluntary" movement of Japanese Americans away from "Military Area #1." Japanese Americans were "frozen" in their homes until arrangements could be made for their incarceration. They were trapped with no option aside from imprisonment. DeWitt methodically issued detention or-



Tule Lake Camp, Modoc County, [circa 1945]

ders almost daily, and an average of 3,750 persons a day were forced out of their homes and locked up in the Temporary Detention Camps.

In a corollary act, the California State Personnel Board summarily fired all State employees of Japanese ancestry on April 2. Blanket dismissal charges were filed against anyone with a Japanese surname. Those who had taken leaves of absence to enter the Temporary Detention Camps were dismissed in absentia, while those who were still free were ordered to promptly vacate their jobs.

On June 2, DeWitt proclaimed the eastern half of California as "Military Area #2" and prohibited Japanese Americans from leaving that area as well until they, too, could be ordered to report for detention. By this action, DeWitt betrayed an earlier promise to spare those who moved to the eastern half of California during the "voluntary" period. Significantly, only the eastern half of California was proscribed: the eastern halves of Oregon and Washington were left alone. This discrepancy was due to the continued political pressure in California to eliminate Japanese Americans from the entire state.

About this time, an important turning point in the Pacific War occurred. The U.S. Navy annihilated the core of the Japanese Navy at the Battle of Midway on June 3-6. From that point on, Japan totally lacked the capability to attack the West Coast. The U.S. government and military knew that any danger of invasion had vanished. However, instead of cancelling the detention program and saving millions in funds, war materiel, and personnel, the government continued to build new concentration camps and lock up more Japanese Americans.

The detention process progressed from district to district, county to county, over a five month period. By June 6, all Japanese Americans in the western half of the West Coast states had been locked up. By August 7, 1942, the entire process was completed. A total of 92,785 Californians, and an overall total of 120,313 Japanese Americans ended up in government custody.

Horse racetracks, fairgrounds, rodeo grounds, and labor camps were used as sites for the temporary detention camps. The WCCA/Western Defense Command expropriated 13 such locations in California and hurriedly converted them into transient detention facilities. Existing horsestalls and grandstands were used for living quarters, and flimsy tarpaper barracks were built for additional housing. Compounds were surrounded by high barbed-wire fences and guard towers; sentries in towers were armed with machine guns; soldiers with bayonet-tipped rifles patrolled camp perimeters; and searchlights crisscrossed camp interiors at night.

Detainees made the following observations:

Estelle Ishigo (Pomona):

The first sight of the barbed wire enclosure with armed soldiers standing guard as our bus slowly turned in through the gate stunned us. . . . Here was a camp of sheds, enclosed within a high barbed wire fence, with guard towers and soldiers with machine guns.

Charles Kikuchi (Tanforan):

I saw a soldier in a tall guardhouse near the barbed wire fence and did not like it because it reminds me of a concentration camp.

Mine Okubo (Tanforan):

We were close to freedom and yet far from it. The San Bruno streetcar line bordered the camp on the east and the main state highway on the south. Streams of cars passed by all day. Guard towers and barbed wire surrounded the entire center. Guards were on duty night and day.

The fence and guards were not there to "protect" the Japanese Americans; the barbed wire tops were turned inward, and the guards had their weapons trained into the camp. DeWitt, himself, explained the purpose of the security measures:

The Assembly Centers in the combat area are generally located in grounds surrounded by fences clearly defining the limits for the evacuees. In such places the perimeter of the camp will be guarded to prevent unauthorized departure of evacuees Should an evacuee attempt to leave camp without permission he will be halted, arrested, and delivered to camp police.

The camp interiors were arranged like prisoner of war camps or overseas military camps, and were completely unsuited for family living. Barracks and horsestalls were divided into blocks and each block had a central mess hall, latrine, showers, wash basins, and laundry tubs. Toilets, showers, and bedrooms were unpartitioned; there was no water or plumbing in the living quarters; and anyone going to the lavatory at night was followed by a searchlight. Eight-person families were placed in 20-x-20-foot rooms, six-person families in 12-x-20-foot rooms, and four-person families in 8-x-20-foot rooms. Smaller families and single persons had to share unpartitioned units with strangers. Each detainee received a straw mattress, an army blanket, and not much else. Privacy was non-existent. Everything had to be done communally. Endless queues formed for eating, washing, and personal needs. Sanitation and food quality were poor. Outbreaks of diarrhea and communicable diseases were common, and the stench in the horsestall areas was overwhelming.

While Japanese Americans were being confined in temporary detention camps, the War Department built 10 large concentration camps -- each designed to hold an average of 12,000 prisoners -- in the interior desert and swamp regions of the United States. Two of these concentration camps were located in California, while the other eight were in the states of Arizona (two), Arkansas (two), Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming.

Beginning on May 26 and continuing through October 30, approximately 500 detainees per day were taken from the temporary detention camps and placed aboard trains under armed guard for transfer to one of the 10 permanent camps. The movement required the use of 171 special trains -- at a time when railroads were critically needed to transport military supplies.

Two of the permanent camps were located in California. In Southern California, the Manzanar War Relocation Center, located between Independence and Lone Pine in Inyo County originally as a temporary detention center, was the first center, established on March 21, 1942. On March 21-22, 1942, the first large contingent of Japanese Americans was relocated from Los Angeles to the Manzanar Assembly Center. Three months later, however, Manzanar was transferred to the War Relocation Authority (WRA) for use as one of 10 permanent centers. Manzanar's total land area included 6,000 acres in the Owens Valley with a living area of 620 acres. The living area consisted of 36 blocks. Each block

contained 16 barracks, a central mess hall, laundry, and bath houses. The barracks were built of wooden planks nailed to studs and covered with tar paper. In some places the green wood warped, resulting in cracks in floors and walls. Congressman Leland Ford of California, who advocated that "all Japanese, whether citizens or not, be placed in inland concentration camps," observed that "on dusty days, one might just as well be outside as inside" at Manzanar.

Two rock entrance stations, a solitary high school auditorium, and an obelisk cemetery monument are the only extant features of the Manzanar landscape, interspersed with concrete barracks foundations, remains of tea gardens, cemetery grave sites, and mess hall debris. To many Japanese Americans, Manzanar "recreates for them that moment in their lives when all the world was enclosed within this one-mile square." Manzanar housed over 10,000 internees before the camp closed on November 21, 1945.

In Northern California, the Tule Lake Relocation Camp, located six miles south of the California-Oregon border, occupied 7,400 acres of land in the dry lake bed of the Klamath Falls Basin, Modoc County. Most of the land was devoted to agricultural activities while approximately 1-1/4 square miles represented the residential area surrounded by barbed wire fence and guard towers.

Within the enclosure were 64 blocks; nine blocks in turn were usually arranged to form a ward. Each block, measuring approximately 500 feet to a side, was repetitively organized around a core of 14 precisely located 20 x 100-foot-long barracks. Each barracks was divided into four to six apartment units. The barracks were designed to accommodate a total of 250 individuals per block. Tule Lake became the largest single camp with a population of over 18,000.

On May 26, 1942, the first evacuees arrived at Tule Lake from the assembly centers at Portland, Oregon, and Puyallup, Washington. Tule Lake began as just one of the 10 camps. By 1943, however, the War Relocation Authority (WRA) and the U.S. Army initiated a registration program requiring all adult evacuees to respond to a loyalty questionnaire to determine leave clearance for service in the U.S. Armed Forces and for resettlement outside of the restricted zones.

In July 1943, Tule Lake was designated as the segregation center for accommodating a diverse population of evacuees who wished to be repatriated to Japan or who replied in the negative to Questions 27 and 28 of the questionnaire. Because of the program of segregation instituted at Tule Lake, its history was marked by disturbances and human tragedies at a level of intensity greater than that experienced in the other centers.

The last internee left Tule Lake on March 20, 1946, the last of the 10 centers to close. Today, a California State Historical Landmark plaque and monument identifies the camp site, where some of the original barracks buildings have been converted into contemporary housing facilities. Farm labor housing, airport terminals and runways, as well as an elementary school now occupy portions of the land that once was the home of 18,000 Japanese Americans.

TEMPORARY DETENTION CAMPS IN CALIFORNIA, 1942

	<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Previous Use</i>
1.	Fresno	Fresno	Fresno	Fairgrounds
2.	Arboga	Marysville	Yuba	Labor Camp
3.	Merced	Merced	Merced	Fairgrounds
4.	Pinedale	Pinedale	Fresno	Labor Camp
5.	Pomona	Pomona	Los Angeles	Fairgrounds
6.	Walerga	Sacramento	Sacramento	Labor Camp
7.	Salinas	Salinas	Monterey	Rodeo Grounds
8.	Santa Anita	Arcadia	Los Angeles	Horse Racetrack
9.	Stockton	Stockton	San Joaquin	Fairgrounds
10.	Tanforan	San Bruno	San Mateo	Horse Racetrack
11.	Tulare	Tulare	Tulare	Fairgrounds
12.	Turlock	Turlock	Stanislaus	Fairgrounds
13.	Manzanar	Owens Valley	Inyo	Aqueduct Land

SITES

In several parts of California, entire communities of Japanese emerged. These communities focused on a common economic pursuit, generally agriculture or fishing. Some communities, such as Bowles and Yamato Colony, did not have the usual businesses or commercial activities of *nihonmachi*. Community members therefore had to travel to other *nihonmachi*, or do business with White merchants in nearby towns. These communities have similarities, but each is unique in some respects.

Bowles

Fresno County

Bowles, as defined by the Japanese, is a farming community in Fresno County totally populated by Japanese Americans. Although maps show a town called Bowles on the Santa Fe Railroad tracks south of Fresno, the Japanese say there are two -- the one on the map and the Japanese Bowles. The Bowles the Japanese settled is located a few miles further west of Manning Avenue, and there is no designation on the map that this is a community. This area was referred to as Bowles because mail delivery did not go directly out to the farms. Mail would arrive on the train at the railroad stop in Bowles, and farmers would go to the Bowles train stop to pick up their mail. Now the mailing address for this community is Fresno, but Japanese still refer to the community as Bowles.

The Japanese Bowles is located in the area bounded on the east by Chestnut Avenue, on the west by Raisin City, on the north by Central Avenue, and on the south by Dinuba Avenue. It is almost totally farmland—grapes and tree fruit—with the Buddhist Church serving as the community center. No business section is associated with this Bowles.

It is said that the first Japanese came to Bowles to work for the Santa Fe Railroad Company, which had camps in Oleander and Bowles. Farmland around the railroad tracks was already settled by Swedish and Danish immigrants, and the only available land was west of Highway 41. In 1902-03, the first Japanese bought property in this area. The original families to plant vineyards were Nakagawa and Ninomiya; previously, land in agricultural production had been used to grow barley and other grain crops.

Japanese settlement of this area was stimulated by Rev. Fukyu Asaeda, who assisted in purchasing 160 acres of farmland located at Floral and Walnut avenues. By 1910, 28 families owned about 1,450 acres; and by 1920, 90-100 Japanese families owned about 3,500 acres.

A community center was built in 1914 for the Japanese-language school, religious services, lectures, and organizations such as the Young Men's Association. This latter organization participated in baseball, sumo, oratorical contests, and lectures. In 1921, the community built its first Buddhist Church; a new church was erected in 1966.

To finance the purchase of their farms, *issei* either saved money or obtained loans from one of several Japanese American banks or other lending institutions. One source indicates that Japanese farmers in the Bowles area were considered good financial risks and had no trouble obtaining loans.

After the Alien Land Law of 1913 passed, farms were purchased by *issei* through formation of corporations in which White friends, acquaintances, or professionals were paid a small sum of money to serve as boards of directors. In some cases, land was purchased in the name of *nisei* children.



Bowles, Fresno County, [circa 1910]

Once land was acquired, it was most beneficial if farmers had a family to help on the farm. Another common arrangement was for brothers to operate a farm together. Occasionally, two friends would jointly buy property, with one working the farm and the other working at another job (in addition to the farming) to have working capital.

Whereas in other parts of the state Japanese farmers formed their own cooperatives, Japanese in Bowles did not, because existing organizations welcomed and solicited issei participation. For example, it has been said that the Raisin Association welcomed Japanese growers because they needed 40 to 55 percent of all raisin producers to bargain for higher prices. Japanese farmers committed their crops to this association but stayed in the background. It is generally agreed that a major reason for the success of the Raisin Association was the role of the issei in its early years.

In 1933, most Japanese farmers in this area had financial difficulties, and 95 percent of them lost their land to the banks. An estimated 40 to 55 percent of the people moved out of Bowles to Southern California. The rest worked as day laborers until they were able to accumulate enough capital to buy back the land.

Interestingly enough, banks found holding these farms for six months unprofitable during the Depression, and many issei farmers were able to buy back farms previously worth \$10,000 for \$3,000-4,000.

During the World War II internment, many Japanese leased their farms to non-Japanese friends, while a few sold them. On return to their homes, Japanese community members of Monmouth and Oleander joined the Bowles Buddhist Church to become one community, although they had previously had their own churches and organizations.

The acreage owned by Japanese farmers in 1979 was close to 4,000 acres, with additional leased land. Bowles is still a farming community without business establishments, and the center is still the Buddhist Church. Any necessary business is conducted in Fresno, Fowler, or other neighboring towns. The major crop of the Bowles farms is still grapes made into raisins. Table grapes, winery grapes, tree fruit, and cotton are also crops of this community. Many of the families that first settled in Bowles remain active members of the community; a few sansei, third-generation Japanese, also work the farms.



Terminal Island, Los Angeles County, [circa 1923]

Terminal Island

East San Pedro, Los Angeles County

Terminal Island (also known as East San Pedro) was acknowledged in the years before World War II as a "typical Japanese fishing village." Until February 1942 a community of about 3,000 Japanese Americans resided and worked in the area of Terminal Way and Tuna, Cannery, Albacore, and Pilchard streets.

Development of the fishing industry in Southern California resulted from issei pioneering efforts with respect to gathering, drying, and canning abalone at White Point, and fishing for albacore off San Pedro. Mr. Hamashita is credited with being one of the first Japanese to commercially fish off San Pedro. He used the boat *Columbia*, purchased from a disbanded abalone company at White Point. Subsequently, other Japanese and Italians engaged in fishing at Terminal Island. By the summer of 1907, several hundred Japanese fishermen had moved to Terminal Island. Canning companies began production on the island, and many one-story fisherman's houses were built by the canneries.

In 1916, Fishermen Hall was built, and became the community center. The Baptist Mission was also constructed the same year. Many Japanese students attended the Mildred O. Walizer Grammar School (East San Pedro Public School), established in 1918. Tuna Street was the business center of the Japanese community, with restaurants, grocery stores, pool halls, barber shops, soft drink parlors, a dry goods store, and a meat market.

At first, Terminal Island was an all-male community, but the number of women and children slowly increased. Women worked in the canneries, such as Southern Fish Company and Van Camp. The main language on the island was Japanese; many cultural and sport activities, such as judo, kendo, sumo, and

Boy's Day, reflected Japanese influences. Churches also offered Japanese-language schools.

As the fishing industry developed, changes in methods and technology occurred. At first, Hamashita used a fishing rod, then nets. The first boats were rowed, then used 15-horsepower gasoline engines, and eventually changed over to larger 100 to 500-horsepower engines, some using crude oil. By 1929, Yamato Ichihashi reports that there were 900 Japanese fishermen on Terminal Island who caught fish for the canneries on the island.

This community, with a population of approximately 3,000 by 1942, has particular significance with respect to the Japanese American internment during World War II. In February 1942, Terminal Island residents were the first to be forcibly removed from their homes. Many of the men were taken by the FBI in December 1941, even before civilian exclusion orders were issued by Lt. General John DeWitt, commanding officer of the Army's Western Defense Command. Those orders eventually resulted in the internment of more than 120,000 Japanese Americans.

Most of the families stayed in Southern California until the entire West Coast Japanese population was ordered to report for internment. The Japanese never returned to their homes on the island. Former residents still have very strong feelings about internment, and there still exists an organization called the "Terminal Islanders."

Today, there is no trace of the Japanese community that once contributed to development of the fishing industry in Southern California. All of the fishermen's houses and shops have been razed. Possibly the only remaining structure associated with Japanese Americans is the Terminal School, which Japanese school children attended. The building is now used by the U.S. Marine Corps. The former Japanese section of Terminal Island is currently occupied by canneries, oil companies, and warehouses.

Yamato Colony

Livingston, Merced County

A personal vision of Kyutaro Abiko resulted in establishment of the Yamato Colony, an agricultural Japanese community in the Central Valley of California. Abiko was confident that the future of Japanese in California was in farming, and that immigrants must forget about the rampant gambling and dissolution in which many of them were involved. In 1904, Abiko purchased 3,000 acres in Livingston and divided it into 40-acre units. He advertised in newspapers such as the *Shinseki* and *Nichi Bei Times* about the "Yamato Colony," in an

effort to establish a Japanese community of farmers. Land was sold at \$35 an acre and was financed over a five-year period by the *Nichi Bei Ginko*, a bank associated with Abiko.

The area lies between two railroad tracks east of Highway 99, outside the town of Livingston. The boundaries are Guerriero on the north, Cressey Way on the south, Livingston Cressey Road on the east, and Highway 99 on the west, although these boundaries include properties not part of the original Yamato Colony.

In November 1906, the first issei, Tajiro Kishi, purchased land and moved to Livingston; by 1908, there were 30 individuals. These pioneers began the difficult task of converting open land to productive fields. The period from 1910 to 1915 has been referred to as "Hihei jidai," or period of impoverishment. Downpayments were made on the land, homes built, and peaches and grapes planted, but no real harvest was foreseen for three to five years. A woman, Mrs. Naka, planted an unusually tasty and attractive eggplant crop which was shipped to the San Francisco market. The following year, other farmers began raising eggplant. Sweet potatoes, asparagus, tomatoes, and melons were also produced for income. These first crops provided the immediate income necessary for farmers to survive.

By 1910, a food buying cooperative was established. A marketing cooperative began in 1914, and in 1917, a packing shed was built. A Christian church was built that same year. Livingston remains possibly the only Japanese community without a Buddhist



church, but the belief that the Yamato Colony was originally established as a Christian settlement is a misconception. Newspaper advertisements made no mention of Christianity, although Abiko himself was a Christian, as were several of the settlers. The colony eventually became Christian.

The original colonists were from either Wakayama-ken or Chiba-ken. The latter group faded out, however, and many of the farmers have their family origins in Wakayama.

Residents of the Yamato Colony never made an attempt to develop commercial enterprises in Livingston, except as they related to farming. Consequently, the Japanese did not establish grocery stores, laundries, dry goods stores, or other businesses. A common understanding seemed to be that if Japanese functioned only in the agricultural sector, this would avoid competition with non-Japanese, and would decrease the chances of racial hostilities.

One source states that in 1940, 69 Japanese families farmed more than 3,700 acres in Livingston. During the World War II internment of Japanese Americans, 54 families from Livingston and Cortez hired a land manager who oversaw their properties while members of the Yamato Colony were incarcerated. Many issei pioneers turned over management of the properties to the next generation after World War II.

Crops grown by Japanese Americans have gradually changed during the 1970s from grapes and peaches to almonds. In addition, there is some experimentation with kiwi fruit and production of sweet potatoes. The cooperative produced approximately 2,000 tons of almond nutmeats in 1979, and shipped 400,000 cartons of sweet potatoes in 1980. In 1979 kiwi were packed for eight growers who were not cooperative members.

The Livingston Farmers' Association in 1976 had 4,190.5 acres in almonds, 1,647.5 in peaches, 616 in grapes, 296.5 in other tree fruit, 8.5 in kiwi fruit, and 1,180.5 in sweet potatoes; 709 acres remained open. Fourteen permanent and more than 100 seasonal workers were employed. The association conducts approximately \$10 million in business per year. The cooperative currently lists 65 members -- one Chinese American, one Mexican American, six Whites, and 57 nisei.

The farms are individually owned, and homes and gardens have been constructed among the crops. Commonly held property includes a parcel on Eucalyptus Road that houses the almond packing plant and the equipment repair shed where cooperative-owned machinery and equipment are maintained. In the town of Livingston, the cooperative owns an office and a packing shed. The

Japanese community also constructed its own Methodist Church on land donated by Kyutaro Abiko. In 1977, the Japanese Methodist Church merged with the White Methodist church in Livingston.

One of the interesting sidelights of the Yamato Colony is that for a farming community, a very high proportion (more than 60%) of the people have college degrees. Both male and female nisei were encouraged by their parents to find jobs in other occupations because of the hardship in farming. The sansei generation has generally left the farms, but a few individuals have returned to participate in agricultural activities in Livingston.

Outside Livingston is a road named "Yamato Road," originally called "Yamato Colony Road," adjacent to farms owned and operated by Japanese Americans in the heart of the area originally called the Yamato Colony.

FACILITIES FOR CHILDREN

Several institutions emerged in the Japanese community expressly to meet the needs of children. By the 1930s, Japanese-language schools could be found in almost any community in California where Japanese lived. Often, they were operated through churches or the Japanese Association. A revival of Japanese-language schools occurred during the 1950s and 1960s, and a few survive today. One of these is the Concord Nippongo Gakko in Contra Costa County.

Facilities providing care for children who were orphaned, or whose parents could not otherwise provide for them, also emerged. One of these was the Shonien in Los Angeles.

Concord Nippongo Gakko (Concord Japanese Language Institute)

Concord, Contra Costa County

The Concord Nippongo Gakko (Concord Japanese Language Institute), now known as the Diablo Japanese American Religious and Cultural Center, is a combination gymnasium and meeting hall, with additional rooms for classrooms. Immediately in front of the structure is a large parking area and a monument erected in 1980, dedicated to Japanese pioneers in the Diablo area. The building incorporates Japanese architectural styling, characterized by a tiled roof topped by wooden beams. Shoji screens have been installed in each window. The center is an imposing stucco and wood building with a simple

rock garden, amid the surrounding developments of townhouses and condominiums.

The Concord Japanese Language Institute served as the community center for social and cultural activities of Japanese living in the Diablo-San Ramon Valley of Contra Costa County. The papers of incorporation for the institute were signed October 22, 1926. As "aliens ineligible to citizenship," the issei were excluded from land ownership. Therefore, three nisei children, Tsutomu Iseri, Hideo Hoshi, and Yoshikazu Kurotori, were selected to serve as directors of the institute.

The institute offered instruction in Japanese and English, and provided kindergartens and playgrounds for the youngsters.

A Japanese-language school had originally been established at the "Adobe House" in Concord. The issei realized the need for a permanent structure to house the language school. Although several sites were considered for the school, it was decided that the Concord Institute would be built on two acres of land donated by Kumetaro Tamori and Honkichi Tamori. From about 1927 to 1930, contributions were collected from the Japanese community. The Concord Institute was built by two issei carpenters, Izumi and Tamaki, from San Jose, with the help of the issei on weekends.

In the 1930s, the building became a center for issei social activities. There was an issei baseball team around 1920-21. There was also a nisei baseball team, known as the Concord O'Doul Baseball Team,

which competed in the Nisei Baseball League. The league included teams from Vacaville, Isleton, Walnut Grove, Mt. Eden, Oakland, Sebastopol, and other areas. The nisei team at the Concord Institute existed from approximately 1929 to 1940. The Contra Costa JACL also used the building from 1937 to 1942.

One of the first instructors of the Concord Institute was Saburo Sasaki. On March 9, 1940, the deed to the land for the institute was transferred by Kumeo and Shoji Tamori. From oral histories, it is known that the organizing officers of the institute were Kumetaro Tamori, President; Nentaro Ide and Seijiro Hara, Vice Presidents; Yasuhei Sakamoto, Treasurer; Sakae Morodomi, Manager; and Genkichi Mukuno, co-manager. Those participating in the initial organizing meetings were Kumetaro Tamori, Nentaro Ide, Seijiro Hara, Yasuhei Sakamoto, Sakae Morodomi, Genkichi Mukuno, Sakichi Shibata, Matsutaro Harano, Daijiro Noma, Yoshikazu Sano, Yonesaku Horiuchi, Yonesaku Kanagaki, Minesuke Nitasaka, Shigesaburo Moshi, Buntaro Hara, Goroichi Hirose, Sagao Kido, Kumezo Obata, and Yuzo Yamamoto.

During World War II, the building was leased to a Caucasian, with the understanding that the rent was to pay taxes on the property. A local lawyer was given power of attorney over the property when Japanese were moved to concentration camps. When Japanese returned after the war, they discovered that the property taxes were delinquent, and the attorney would not release the property to them. The returning Japanese regained the power of



attorney. The cost of back taxes and attorney's fees to regain the property was paid by community donations.

During the reconstruction period after the war, returning Japanese, along with other Japanese who came to live in the Diablo area, established the Diablo Japanese American Club in 1952. Thus, activities of the institute expanded to include families other than those with children. In 1953, the building was remodeled, and in 1954, the school was opened after being closed since 1942. Activities of the club included ikebana, shigin, judo, bonsai, a gardeners' association, Higashi Honganji, and Nishi Honganji meetings. In 1957, the fund-raising summer festival was started, and continues to this day.

In 1971, the Concord Buddhist Sunday School became the holder of the deed. The original building was moved in 1971 to make way for construction of a new building. The original building, donated to the We Care Center, a private nonprofit school for disabled children, was relocated across from the Concord Pavilion. The new building is now known as the Concord Japanese American Religious and Cultural Center.

The 50th anniversary was observed May 20, 1979, and a stone monument was erected the following year commemorating the event. The Concord Institute still conducts Japanese-language classes on weekends at the center.



Shonien, Los Angeles County, [circa 1925]

Shonien

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County

Rokuichi Kusumoto established the Shonien (Japanese Children's Home) in 1914, when he realized that the Japanese community needed such an institution to provide care and supervision for children whose parents could not do so.

Several conditions necessitated that the Shonien be established. For example, economic conditions required parents to work long hours, which could

result in young children lacking proper supervision, nutrition, and care. Occasionally, a child would be born out of wedlock, with neither parent willing to raise the youngster. Sometimes, difficulties between parent and child required another home for the child. Because the early Japanese community consisted only of immigrants and their children, the traditional extended family system that could have provided care for children did not exist. Another factor was that many child care agencies in the larger community were closed to nisei children because of their race.

The Shonien has had a 60-year history in Southern California. The first Shonien was started at 1120 Alvarado Street with six infants, and was moved to several locations over the years as it expanded. The Shonien has been licensed to care for 20 to 50 children at different times in its history. Difficulties experienced during its long history included fund-raising, meeting standards of various child welfare organizations, locating English-speaking personnel during the early stages of operation, and providing adequate administration of the home, particularly during Kusumoto's illness.

During the World War II internment of Japanese Americans, children at the Shonien were located at the Children's Village in Manzanar. Two other Japanese children's homes, Maryknoll Home and the Salvation Army Home, were also included in the Children's Village. In April 1942, 93 children were located in the Children's Village. By the time the camp at Manzanar was closed in 1945, placement with Japanese American families had been found for all children in the village.

After the internment, the Shonien building served as a hostel for Japanese Americans returning to Los Angeles. By 1948, inquiries for child care facilities were received by the Shonien organization, and a residential out-of-home care program was begun in 1956.

The Shonien closed its out-of-home care program in 1963, and merged with other community organizations such as the Japanese American Community Services Inc. (JACS) and Japanese American Youth (JAY), to meet the changing needs of the community. The new organization maintains support through fund-raising, volunteer work, and participation by the Board of Directors to develop several community service activities. These include a drug abuse prevention program, draft counseling, a senior citizens' project, and day care for Japanese and other Asian children.

The Shonien building is a one-story wooden house. Two columns support the gabled front porch. Several girls lived in this structure when it was used

as the girls' dormitory section of the Shonien. The building has been altered slightly, and is now a private residence.

LABOR

A need by agricultural interests for laborers in Hawaii and on the American mainland provided the impetus for early Japanese immigration to the United States. Recruitment and enticement resulted in large numbers of immigrants from Japan in the early part of the 20th century.

Once in the United States, immigrants traveled throughout California, working in various occupations -- agriculture, fishing, land reclamation, domestic services, commercial enterprises, railroads, and oil fields. Many of the earliest immigrants proceeded to establish their own businesses, farms, cooperatives, and other enterprises. A large minority of these single men, however, continued to work as laborers, and constituted the backbone of agricultural workers through the mid-1900s, along with Chicanos and Filipinos.



Kawasaki Labor Camp

Delano, Tulare County

In 1921, Joseph DiGiorgio owned 20,482 acres of productive fruit lands in California. In 1935, his holdings had increased to 40,000 acres, mostly in California. Included in this acreage were 6,000 acres near Arvin in Kern County, and another 6,000 acres near Delano in Tulare County. Hundreds of Asian and Chicano farm workers provided the labor to make this land profitable for the DiGiorgio corporation.

The Kawasaki Labor Camp, located in the vicinity of Delano, consisted of about 40 small buildings in which farm laborers were housed, a few larger residences where the camp bosses lived, and a mess hall and company store providing services for

laborers. Eight structures at the northwestern portion of the property are two-room wooden buildings; the remaining laborers' dwellings are former railroad boxcars placed on concrete blocks. In the center of these latter structures is a more recently constructed concrete-block shower and bathroom.

Corporate farming first appeared in Delano in the late 1920s, approximately the same time issei-operated labor camps were established. The DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation referred to the Delano property as the Sierra Vista Ranch. Workers on this ranch lived in labor camps numbered I, II, III, and 18. Issei who operated these camps during the years before World War II were: Tanimura, Morita, Tagawa, Hyodo, Fujita, Nakajima, Yoshihara, Yamamoto, and Yamashita. It is estimated that before World War II, Camps I, II, and III housed 60, 40, and 350 men, respectively. In addition, several other Japanese labor camps were operated for large ranches in the area.

Frank Tsunekusu Kawasaki, for whom this camp is named, began working as a foreman for the DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation in 1933, and operated a labor camp at the Arvin ranch until World War II. During internment of Japanese Americans, both Filipino and Mexican laborers lived in the camp.

In December 1947, Japanese labor camps at the Sierra Vista Ranch were once again opened, with Mr. Magoshira Nakajima as the company overseer. In 1949, Frank T. Kawasaki resumed work as foreman and camp operator for the DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation in Delano; he remained in this position until December 1956 when he retired. His son, Paul Kawasaki, was camp foreman of Sierra Vista Camp II from 1956 to 1967; his nephew, Tom Kawasaki, was foreman of Sierra Vista Camp #18 from 1949 to 1956. During this period, the average number of laborers in this camp was 200, with more than 300 living here during the harvest season.

Sierra Vista Camps I and II were no longer Japanese labor camps. Camp I became a Chicano labor camp, headed by Mr. Rodriguez. Later, Mr. Rabaya became the camp boss, and it evolved into a Filipino camp. Camp III, headed by Mr. Fernando, consisted of approximately 100 Filipino farm workers.

Through the 1950s and 1960s, the number of issei laborers decreased dramatically as this population became older and unable to perform agricultural labor. From the 1940s, California agriculture became more and more dependent on Mexican laborers, who as citizens of the United States or Mexico worked in California legally or illegally. Uncomfortable with publicity surrounding illegal Mexican entrants to the United States and the Bracero program, the agricultural industry attempted to

locate other sources of labor by developing a limited immigration program from Japan, Hawaii, and the Philippines.

During the mid-1950s, the DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation sponsored a refugee program in which approximately 250 Japanese were directly recruited by Frank Kawasaki from the provinces of Kagoshima, Hiroshima, Wakayama, Shima, Yamaguchi, and Kagawa in Japan. These refugees were given permanent resident status, but few remained on the ranch.

During the World War II internment, the Delano Buddhist church burned down. In 1956, the church was reactivated with Frank Kawasaki as president. Buddhist church services were held at this site once a month until the closing of Sierra Vista Camp No. II in 1967. After this, services were held at the Honbo Camp, another Japanese labor camp.

From 1962 through 1967, the Kawasaki labor camp provided room and board for about 150 Mexican green card workers. The DiGiorgio Corporation brought these Braceros to work in their fields on a contract labor basis.

Sierra Vista Camp No. II was closed in December of 1967, when the DiGiorgio Corporation sold the property. Two reasons were given for the sale: the 160-acre limitation on farms that used federal canal water, and organizing activities of the United Farm Workers Union.

The property is currently vacant.

CHURCHES

Churches, both Buddhist and Christian, were the centers of Japanese communities for many years. They provided not only religious services but also social activities, athletic organizations, and Japanese-language classes for the community. Churches were established in almost every Japanese community in the state. Two are included as examples. The Buddhist Church of Bakersfield is the oldest Japanese Buddhist church building constructed by its congregation still used for religious services. The Union Church of Los Angeles played a particularly significant role for the Japanese community of Southern California.

Buddhist Church of Bakersfield

Bakersfield, Kern County

The Buddhist Church of Bakersfield is a one-story, light gray clapboard structure. Double doors lead directly into the chapel area, and a door off the

porch to the south leads to a hallway that runs between the meeting room to the north, and to six small rooms to the south. A short, tower-like appendage above the porch is formed by the porch columns which extend through the porch roof.

The large main room has a tatami floor covered by canvas-like material, on which the judo dojo practices. A screen toward the back of the room closes off the Buddhist altar. Walls are plaster, but the ceiling in the large main room has been covered with plywood. The small rooms off the hallway are used as office space and dressing rooms for the judo dojo.

The church altar, the oldest in the United States, was disassembled and shipped to Bakersfield from Japan, then reassembled and installed in the church. It is a fine example of the craftsmanship employed in construction of a religious altar without the use of nails.

A small rock garden is found at the northeast corner of the building, along with bamboo plants, trees, and shrubs.

The Bakersfield Buddhist Church and the St. Andrews Methodist Church are the last institutional remnants of a once-thriving Japanese community in this area where more than 400 Japanese once lived.

The *Hokubei Tosa Taikan* states that the first Japanese arrived in Bakersfield in 1889, when 60 laborers were hired by the Kern County Land Company through a labor contractor. These laborers eventually left the area, and the land company hired a few Japanese directly. Sutematsu Murakami and Kohei Tanaka were among these laborers. Murakami opened the first Japanese store, a bambooware store, in 1899. Three prostitutes were reported to be the only Japanese women in town in those days.



The discovery of oil in 1896 increased the demand for laborers. Enough Japanese laborers worked for the Santa Fe Railroad to justify construction of a labor camp for them. Taro Onodera was the supervisor, and 40 laborers worked for him. Wages were generally higher than anywhere else in California due to the remoteness of the area, the demand for laborers, and the high cost of living.

By 1911, Japanese lived in the vicinity of Bakersfield's Chinatown, which was located on 19th, 20th, and 21st streets, and on L and M streets. Japanese-owned businesses included three restaurants, three inns, four billiard parlors, two barber shops, one Japanese restaurant, two stores, and one bathhouse.

Another account indicates that Kitaro Miyaji became supervisor of an 800-acre vineyard in Bakersfield. Ten Japanese laborers accompanied him to Bakersfield in 1904. A few years later, Miyaji and few others rented land for growing vegetables and raising pigs. In 1911, Mr. Kinoko is reported to have purchased the first land in this area.

In February 1909, the Young Buddhist Association was formed with 70 charter members, to fulfill religious as well as social needs. Regular meetings were held on Sundays at a house rented at 2202 M Street, with two charter members, Tadaichi Tomisa and Akitaro Uyeoka, contributing \$7.00 a month to defray expenses.

The church at the present site was completed in June 1911, at a cost of \$3,314.50. In addition to church services, a Japanese-Language School was established in the 1920s. Baseball, basketball, track and field, and other sports events were also offered to the congregation. In 1934, the Bakersfield Young Men's Judo Association was organized in the church, to "promote the spirit of the samurai" among nisei; the Judo Association was organized by Mr. Yuzawa and Rev. Ryujo Nagoya.

During the World War II internment period, the Buddhist Church was used as a storage facility for belongings of church members who were interned at Poston, Arizona. Neighbors kept watch over the building to protect it against vandalism. Mrs. Emma Buckmaster, an elementary school teacher, had the keys to the building, and shipped possessions to the camp as needed.

After the war, the church served as a hostel, with as many as 20 persons accommodated here at one time. In 1956, the church was reorganized. Membership was down to 10 families, and the church no longer had a resident minister. Ministers from the Visalia Buddhist Church traveled to Bakersfield for monthly services and observances of religious holidays.

Through the years, the judo club has remained active, and still practices on a regular basis, as well as participating in tournaments.

Current urban redevelopment plans by the City of Bakersfield threaten this structure. A shopping center is planned, which would displace all the buildings in the vicinity. Concern for the church's survival relates not only to the structure, but to the altar which was brought from Japan. If redevelopment cannot be halted, it is hoped that the building will be moved out of the area, and that careful plans will be made so the altar can be conveyed to another site without being damaged.



Japanese Union Church of Los Angeles

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County

In 1977, Japanese Christian missions celebrated their 100th anniversary in America. Early Japanese immigrants to America met regularly with White church members to learn about Christianity and the English language. Later, as Japanese attendance at these group meetings increased, segregated congregations were often established. The significance of ethnic churches is that they served as social centers as well as places of religious worship for the Japanese American community. The Union Church of Los Angeles has been particularly important in both these aspects, serving large numbers of Japanese in Los Angeles and surrounding communities. In addition to its Christian work, the church

became known as a place where Japanese could gather. Japanese-language films were shown in the sanctuary auditorium, and the gymnasium encouraged development of Japanese athletic leagues. The church also sponsored social services programs, a language school, and a hostel on another piece of property.

The Japanese Union Church of Los Angeles building is a three-story, brick and concrete structure. Its San Pedro Street frontage is characterized by four Ionic columns and three stained glass windows. The tip of the cross that sits atop the building is 45 feet above the street level. Inside are various offices and classrooms. The church's sanctuary is on the second floor, with a balcony on the third floor. The basement area once served as a gymnasium, but was later converted into a social hall. Today, the basement has been partitioned to create office space for the Japanese Community Pioneer Center.

The building is located in the heart of the Little Tokyo district of Los Angeles, directly across the street from the Los Angeles Police Department.

The Japanese Union Church of Los Angeles was established February 7, 1918 through the merger of three congregations, the Los Angeles Presbyterian Church (est. 1905), the Los Angeles Congregational Church (est. 1908), and the Japanese Bethlehem Congregational Church of Los Angeles (est. by 1911). By combining resources, it was hoped that a larger church with expanded programs could be created to better serve the community. Rev. Giichi Tanaka was appointed as the first pastor of the church.

By 1920, the need for a new church building had become apparent, and a building program was initiated. Three years later, on March 25, 1923, the new church building at 120 N. San Pedro Street was dedicated. In the years that followed, the Union Church benefitted the entire Japanese American community through its many programs.

During World War II, church members, along with other Japanese Americans on the West Coast, were interned at Heart Mountain in Wyoming. Rev. Donald Toriumi, who was the church's minister immediately before the exodus, continued to lead the congregation at Heart Mountain. The church building was used as a Black community center during this period of Japanese absence.

Rev. Sohei Kowta, formerly with the church's social service institute, recognized the need to establish a center to aid Japanese Americans returning from the concentration camps. Along with the Presbytery and the American Friends Service Committee, he established a resettlement center in the institute's

building. This became known as the Evergreen Hotel, and Rev. Kowta conducted religious services for Union Church members and other residents.

In 1949, the Black community center was relocated, and the congregation resumed meeting in the San Pedro Street building November 14 of that year. In 1955, the name of the Japanese Union Church of Los Angeles was changed to the Union Church of Los Angeles.

In the mid-1960s, the City of Los Angeles began formulating plans for redevelopment of Little Tokyo. Plans included widening certain sections of San Pedro Street. In the years that followed, the congregation weighed its options, and decided to search for a new site. The church property was sold to the City of Los Angeles, which leased the building to the Community Redevelopment Agency. The building is scheduled for demolition. New property was purchased at the corner of Third and San Pedro streets where groundbreaking ceremonies were held on October 12, 1975. On November 7, 1976, the new building was dedicated.

Today, the Sunday congregation numbers about 285 (165 for English-language services and 115-120 for Japanese-language services). Hiroshi Izumi is the Japanese-language pastor, and Duane Takayama is the Director of Christian Education. Since the retirement of Rev. Howard Toriumi, the church has not appointed a permanent English-language pastor.

In addition to its church services, the Union Church continues to work with the Japanese American community by providing space for various groups. The church itself sponsors youth and adult fellowship groups, as well as Boy and Girl Scout troops. The neighboring Little Tokyo Towers, a senior citizens' housing project, uses the church for some of its cultural and social classes. The church also serves as headquarters for the Southern California Church Federation, an association of Japanese Christian Churches.

HEALTH CARE

Facilities to provide health care became a priority for Japanese Americans in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Babies were being born, occasional epidemics affected large segments of the community, and the working and living conditions of the times required midwives, doctors, and nurses. In addition, medical practitioners needed structures where they could provide medical service.

Japanese hospitals were constructed in several locations where large numbers of issei settled. The Okonogi Byoin in the City of Fresno was probably the first Japanese hospital in the state. Established by

Dr. Bunkuro Okonogi, the Okonogi Byoin was in operation by about 1901, and grew progressively larger and more modern until Dr. Okonogi's death in 1950. The San Jose Kumamoto Kenjinkai organized its community hospital, Kuwabara Hospital, in 1910; the structure is still used by the community today. The Nihon Byoin in Fresno was organized around 1913, and currently houses several businesses. The Nippon Hospital in Stockton was established in 1919.



Nippon Hospital

Stockton, San Joaquin County

The Nippon Hospital is the last structural remnant of the Stockton Japanese community of the early 1900s. It is a two-story brick structure, with a brick pillared porch entryway. Decorative elements include use of colored brick to highlight architectural features of the structure. White bricks, engraved "Nippon Hospital," are laid in the facade near the top of the building.

Completed in 1919 at a cost of \$20,000, the hospital was the result of a proposal by the local Japanese Association, and was financed by Tokutaro Matsu-

moto, a wealthy local farmer. The facility was apparently equipped with modern furnishings, and was intended to serve Japanese patients, although the first doctors and nurses to be employed were White. The Japanese felt that they had not received adequate medical care during the flu epidemic of 1918 which filled the existing hospitals to capacity. This convinced the Japanese community of the need for its own medical facilities.

J. Kyono, secretary of the local Japanese Association, organized the effort, and G. T. Nakagawa of the Nippon Drug Store and Joseph F. Ogata were the principal staff members. When interviewed by the *Stockton Record* April 12, 1919, Secretary Kyono stated that "the Japanese who are ill in the hospital frequently want appetizing dishes of their own food, and heretofore it has been impossible to give them that attention in other hospitals."

The stated purpose of the Nippon Hospital was to provide "care of the sick, infirmed, and disabled, to operate, and conduct in all of its branches and departments a school for the general training of nurses." Incorporated in 1922 with the amount of capital stock valued at \$10,000, the 400 shares sold for \$25 per share. In 1925, the corporation was reorganized, with the amount of capital stock valued at \$20,000, and 2,000 shares each worth \$10. Each of the five directors owned one share.

The hospital served the Japanese community until 1930, when it was beset by financial difficulties. It then changed ownership and became a hotel. The Nippon Hospital is now registered as a California State Historical Landmark, and is in the process of being renovated for use as senior citizen's housing.

San Jose Midwifery

San Jose, Santa Clara County

This structure is representative of midwiferies throughout the state where immigrant Japanese women had their babies. Very few second generation Japanese Americans were born in hospitals. Even where there were hospitals in the community, separate facilities staffed by midwives were also usually present. In San Jose, for example, another midwifery was located directly across the street, next to a hospital.

Sources state that this building was moved to this site around 1908, and in fact, had been two separate structures that were joined together at the time of moving. The long, one-story structure is built of clapboard siding, painted a light gray. The small porch is supported by a pair of simple round columns on each corner, and the gabled roof is composition shingles. The interior consists of 10

small rooms leading off a central hallway, a kitchen with two stoves, a dining room, and a bathroom. Walls are plaster, and floors wood.

One Hori-san resided here and operated the midwifery. It was usual for at least four to five women to be staying here at a time. The building is almost directly across the street from Kuwabara Hospital, and so had access to physicians when complications arose.

Dr. S. Nakahara, a dentist from Hawaii, married Hori-san's daughter, and practiced in the front portion of the building from approximately 1920 to 1940. The dental office and midwifery served the larger San Jose area, with clients coming from all of Santa Clara County.

Apparently, the property was sold around 1940, and was later used as a residence for internees returning from the World War II camps. Mr. Tanino operated a boarding house at this site for a few years before returning to Japan. Residents of the boarding house were overwhelmingly male, 30 to 50 years of age, and worked in the outlying agricultural fields.

In 1958, Mr. and Mrs. Okamoto purchased the structure. The building continues to serve as a boarding house, currently with five tenants. The structure is located in the nihonmachi section of San Jose.

RECREATION

Little is written about recreational facilities and opportunities for Japanese immigrants. Because of the responsibilities of work, family, and community priorities, relatively small amounts of time were spent in recreational pursuits. Recitals, plays, singing, and special programs were often performed at churches and community centers. Casual recreational activities included pool, baseball, and gambling. The following sites were developed specifically as recreational sites for the Japanese community.

San Jose Japanese Theatre

San Jose, Santa Clara County

The Japanese Theatre is a single-story rectangle of western false-front style, with an overhang above the double-door entrance. Its construction features horizontal wood siding painted a grayish color, with dark gray trim, roofed with deteriorating wood shingles. To enter the building, one steps up to a concrete platform and onto a floor on the same level. The interior is one large room, with a low raised stage at the west end of the building. A



mezzanine on the east end of the building was used to project films. The structure is part of the nihonmachi section of San Jose, with commercial establishments to the immediate north and south. It is estimated that the building was erected in 1906.

Recreational activities for the issei were very limited early in the century. Cultural and language barriers, combined with discriminatory actions by the dominant society, resulted in early Japanese settlers establishing their own means and structures for recreation and relaxation. The San Jose Japanese Theatre is one lasting and successful effort.

Early in this century, issei in the San Jose area felt a need to form a corporation and build a structure in which to perform *shibai* (plays) and to show movies. The corporation raised the money and oversaw construction and operation of the theatre. Performances of *shigin* (poetry recitation) and *utai* (epic singing) were occasionally held in the theatre.

The theatre could be used by community groups to raise money for various causes. For example, a special movie from Hawaii or Japan might be shown to raise money for a particular organization. Before the war, nisei held dances in the theatre, and a kendo group practiced here. The building was sold at auction after World War II. Aikido of San Jose, a martial arts group, currently occupies the building.

White Point

San Pedro, Los Angeles County

White Point is of economic as well as recreational interest with respect to Japanese Americans. Issei immigrants pioneered an abalone fishing industry here in the 1890s, then helped build and use the facilities of a hot springs resort, located here until 1933.

It is believed that two separate groups began abalone fishing here at about the same time. One group consisted of 12 fishermen/farmers, whose members included: Riyojiro Hatashita, Yotaro Hatashita, Sankichi Hatashita, Jinshiro Tani, Takeshiro Higashi, Yoshimatsu Koji, Yoshimatsu Hanamura, Seko, Kishirobei Ryono, Ukichi Kodata, Buntaro Uragami, and Kobei Tatsumi. These issei pioneers were originally employed as laborers by the Southern Pacific Railroad Company. In March 1901, they moved to San Pedro in search of a more profitable, familiar way of life as abalone fishermen.

Around the same time, Japanese immigrants named Seo traveled to the South Bay, establishing an abalone farm at White Point.

Abalone caught during the day were boiled, then dried or canned in the early morning or evening. Dry abalone was sold for about 20 cents a pound, and the shell was sold for four dollars a ton.

Abalone fishing was profitable for about a decade, until outside anti-Japanese propaganda began to affect this issei industry. Los Angeles newspapers wrote that a group of Japanese were spying on the entire Southern California coastline and reporting to the Japanese government. In 1905, the State of California passed legislation prohibiting Japanese Americans from continuing the abalone enterprise. This brought an end to Japanese involvement in the abalone industry at White Point. But discovery, harvesting, and canning of abalone, and identification of fish schools near the coast were important in development of the fishing industry in Southern California. Japanese fishermen subsequently moved from White Point to San Pedro, Terminal Island, and Wilmington.

After the abalone business was abandoned, a seashore spa around the nearby sulphur springs was developed in 1915. Ramon Sepulveda with the help of Tamiji Tagami piped sulphur water into a pool,



White Point, Los Angeles County, [circa 1920]

and built a hotel, a restaurant, and a string of cabins. This was the White Point Health Resort, consisting of sulphur water baths, an Olympic-sized swimming pool, a children's pool, and a sulphur hole. Japanese Americans, who were prohibited from enjoying other hot springs, as well as other people from all parts of California came to enjoy the water and the weather. In the early 1920s, the hot springs, referred to by the Japanese as "onsen," were bustling with many Fujinkai picnics. This was important to the issei, because there were few recreational activities open to Japanese at that time. Even the 1932 Japanese Olympic team made a visit to the hot springs. Then in 1933, the Long Beach earthquake reduced the resort to its foundations. A broken fountain remains at the site of this resort community.

DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES

Japanese Americans have suffered discriminatory practices resulting from official legislative actions such as the Alien Land Laws, and from informal regulations such as restrictive housing covenants. The most publicized discriminatory action was internment of approximately 120,000 West Coast Japanese Americans in concentration camps during World War II.

Alien Land Law

From 1909 onward, the California legislature considered bills designed to control leasing and ownership of land by Asians. These laws were directed toward Japanese, the primary "aliens ineligible for U.S. citizenship" who were buying property at this time. Agricultural interests wanted to maintain them as a labor force. White supremacist and patriotic groups were determined to prevent nonwhite groups from becoming permanent and participating members of California society.

On May 19, 1913, Governor Hiram Johnson signed the Webb-Hartley Law (more popularly known as the Alien Land Law of 1913). It prevented "aliens ineligible to citizenship" from owning or acquiring land, and placed limitations on leasing and collective ownership of property. The laws of 1919 and 1920 more stringently restricted ownership and leasing of land. Although the California Supreme Court declared the Alien Land Law unconstitutional in 1952, the legislation remained on the books until November 4, 1956 when California voters repealed the law.

The following examples are just three of the many cases in which Japanese Americans incurred legal

fees and harassment by government officials as a result of being prosecuted for violations of the Alien Land Law.



Harada House

Riverside, Riverside County

The Harada Case attracted wide attention because it was the first to test the constitutionality of an alien land law in California. In December 1915, Jukichi Harada, a Japanese immigrant, purchased a home in a middle-class neighborhood in the city of Riverside. Harada, who had been proprietor of a restaurant and boarding house for many years in Riverside, wanted a home near a good school for his children. Although the Alien Land Law of 1913 prevented him from owning land, he felt that his three American-born children could legally possess land.

A committee composed of his neighbors tried to persuade Harada to give up the property. Harada refused, saying that he had no interest in the property, and that it was owned by his children. The neighbors brought charges against the Harada family through the Attorney General of California, U. S. Webb. They claimed that Jukichi Harada was an alien not eligible for citizenship under the laws of the United States, and that it was not possible for him to possess, acquire, transfer, or enjoy any real property in the state of California. December 14, 1916 marked the beginning of this important trial: *The People of the State of California v. Jukichi Harada, et al.*

Two years later, on September 17, 1918, Judge Hugh H. Crain of the Riverside County Superior Court reached a verdict in favor of the Haradas. He found that aliens ineligible for American citizenship could not own land, but that their children born in the United States had rights equal to those of any other citizens.

The property in question was built in the 1870s or 1880s and was originally a one-story "saltbox" cottage with recessed wood siding and a wood shingle roof. Harada had the house remodeled in 1916, and added a second floor with four bedrooms and a bathroom. The dining room was altered to have a lowered ceiling and new plaster.

This case ended in favor of the Haradas, and the Harada family still resides on the property. However, in other jurisdictions, prosecution of Alien Land Law cases resulted in loss of property for Japanese Americans. It was not until after 1952 that they were free from the harassment of this discriminatory law.



Oyama Property, Oyama et al. v. State of California

Chula Vista, San Diego County

Between 1944 and 1948, the State of California filed almost 80 escheat cases against issei farmers, collecting land and money worth a quarter of a million dollars from a score of Japanese American families. The Oyama Case tested the validity of property gifts by aliens ineligible for citizenship to their own minor children, who possessed U.S. citizenship.

Kajiyo and Kohide Oyama were immigrants from Japan, and according to the Alien Land Law, ineligible to own property in the state. A son, Fred, was born in California in 1928. When Fred was six years old, his parents purchased six acres of agricultural land in Southern California for \$4,000. The property was recorded in Fred's name.

Some six months later, Kajiyo Oyama petitioned to become his son's guardian, stating that Fred owned the six acres of land. This was approved by the Superior Court of San Diego County. When Fred was nine years old, in 1937, June Kushino, guardian of another minor, sold an adjoining two acres to Fred Oyama for \$1,500. Funds for the purchase were provided by Fred's father, Kajiyo Oyama.

In 1937, as in 1936, Mr. Oyama, as guardian, sought permission to borrow \$4,000, payable in six months, to finance the next year's crops. As it appeared on the record, both loans were approved by the court, and were repaid on maturity. However, Kajiro Oyama made no annual accounting report, as required by the Alien Land Law of 1920.

In 1942, the Oyama family, with all other persons of Japanese ancestry, were removed from the Pacific Coast. In 1944, when Fred was sixteen and still forbidden to return home, the State of California filed a petition to declare an escheat of the two parcels of land on the grounds that the conveyances in 1934 and 1937 were made with intent to evade and violate the Alien Land Law. In the Oyama case of 1946, the California Supreme Court upheld the action of the state to escheat the two parcels.

Oyama appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled on January 19, 1948 that Fred Oyama had the right to own land under the guardianship of his father. The court did not declare the Alien Land Law unconstitutional, but ownership of the property remained with the Oyama family.

The 160-acre farmland, which once grew celery, tomatoes, and peppers, is now a residential area of Chula Vista, with no trace of the family or visual evidence of the important legal decision clarifying the rights of land ownership.



Sei Fujii Property, Sei Fujii v. State of California

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County

Sei Fujii's significance to Japanese American history lies in a judicial decision that can be found in law books under the reference heading: *Sei Fujii v. State of California*, 38 Cal. 2d 718, April 17, 1952. On that day, the California Supreme Court ruled that Sei Fujii, a non-citizen issei, could purchase and own property in his own name. Chief Justice Phil S. Gibson, aided by Justices Edmonds, Carter, and Traynor, wrote the majority opinion. Justice Schauer, along with Justices Shend and Spence, wrote the dissenting opinion.

This court decision climaxed a legal battle that began in 1948, when Fujii purchased an undeveloped lot in East Los Angeles in order to test the Alien Land Law. Earlier that year, on January 19, the United States Supreme Court had ruled, in *Oyama v. California*, that issei parents, ineligible for citizenship, could purchase land as gifts for their citizen children. Fujii, a graduate of the University of Southern California Law School and publisher of the *Kashu Mainichi* (a bilingual Japanese American newspaper), decided to further test the law. The State of California began an escheat action to take possession of the property. Superior Court Judge Wilbur C. Curtis ruled in favor of the state's action. Fujii then appealed to the California Supreme Court, which overruled the lower court's decision.

The Fujii and Oyama cases eventually resulted in the Alien Land Law being declared unconstitutional. On November 4, 1956, a repeal measure, listed as Proposition 13, was passed by California voters to officially repeal the Alien Land Law, 43 years after its enactment.

The property associated with the landmark Fujii case is located on a small hillside adjacent to a county road. The property remains vacant and undeveloped and is surrounded by residential development.

SEGREGATED SCHOOLS

Sacramento County

In August 1921, the California legislature amended the School Law of California so that "The governing body of a school district shall have power to exclude children of filthy or vicious habits, or children suffering from contagious or infectious diseases, and also to establish separate schools for Indian children and for children of Chinese, Japanese or Mongolian parentage. When such schools are established, Indian children or children of Chinese, Japanese or Mongolian parentage must not be admitted into any other school."

The Florin School District responded by building a new structure for White children, while the older Florin East School became the "Oriental School." Asian children in Florin attended separate schools until 1939, when the local Japanese American Citizens League persuaded the school board to terminate its segregationist policy.

Three other school districts in Sacramento County (Courtland, Isleton, and Walnut Grove) also practiced de facto segregation before the legislative amendment of 1921. In the office of the River Delta Unified School District, the first Register for Public School for Walnut Grove in September 1908 lists a teacher, I.M.C. Smith, who had 16 Asian children in her classroom. By September 1920, a year before the amendment was passed, the Register was labeled "Oriental School." Ten years later, 62 students attended the White school, 29 attended the Migra-

tory School, and 222 attended the Oriental School. Segregated schools in Walnut Grove continued until 1942, when all Japanese Americans in California were interned, leaving Filipino and Chinese students in the Oriental School. Financial considerations were apparently the deciding factor in desegregating the schools in 1943.

In Isleton, a decision was made to segregate Asian children after the Christmas holiday of the school year beginning in September 1909. All Asian names disappeared from rosters of the previously integrated classrooms in January 1910, and segregated class lists appeared. Similarly, the Courtland Bates Oriental School was built around 1922, although segregated classrooms had been in effect for years before.

After the World War II internment, a Japanese family challenged the constitutionality of California's separate school provision. The Los Angeles County Superior Court concurred that segregation on the basis of race or ancestry violated the Fourteenth Amendment. In 1947, the California legislature repealed the amendment that provided for separate schools for Chinese, Indians, and Japanese.

The Florin East School is the only extant structure that was used as an oriental school in Sacramento County. The other three were razed more than 25 years ago. The Florin School, a one-story, U-shaped, green stucco structure with a tarpaper roof, is located in an area where Japanese resided and operated small stores. On the site of the Courtland Bates Oriental School, a new elementary school now stands. The former school sites in Walnut Grove and Isleton are vacant.



Florin East Grammar School, Sacramento County

Historical Listing

1. **Alameda Buddhist Temple**, Alameda County
 2. **Alvarado Japanese Association Building**, Alameda County
 3. **Angel Island Detention Barracks**, Marin County
 4. **Arroyo Grande Japanese School**, San Luis Obispo County
 5. **Asahi Market**, Ventura County
 6. **Bacon Island**, San Joaquin County
 - * 7. **Bakersfield Buddhist Church**, Kern County
 8. **Bakersfield Japanese Methodist Church**, Kern County
 9. **Biggs Rice Experiment Station**, Butte County
 - * 10. **Bowles**, Fresno County
-
11. **California Flower Market, Inc.**, San Francisco
 12. **Centerville Japanese Language School**, Alameda County
 13. **City Market**, Los Angeles County
 14. **Colma Japanese Cemetery**, San Mateo County
 - * 15. **Concord Nippongo Gakko**, Contra Costa County
 - * 16. **Courtland Bates Oriental School Site**, Sacramento County
 17. **Delano Nihonmachi**, Kern County
 18. **Durst Ranch Site**, Yuba County
 19. **Enmanji**, Sonoma County
 20. **Euclid Hall**, Alameda County
-
21. **Florin Buddhist Church**, Sacramento County
 - * 22. **Florin East Grammar School**, Sacramento County
 23. **Fountain Grove**, Sonoma County
 24. **Fresno Buddhist Church**, Fresno County
 25. **Fresno Nihonmachi**, Fresno County
 26. **Fukui Mortuary**, Los Angeles County
 27. **Gardena Valley Japanese Community Center**, Los Angeles County
 28. **George Shima's Office**, San Joaquin County
 29. **Gilroy Japanese Community Hall**, Santa Clara County
 30. **Gilroy Japanese Language School**, Santa Clara County

* Sites included in this report

Historical Listing—cont'd.

31. **Gospel Society/Fukuin Kai Site**, San Francisco
 32. **Guadalupe Buddhist Church**, Santa Barbara County
 33. **H. Sumida Company**, Fresno County
 - * 34. **Harada House**, Riverside County
 35. **Harbor District Japanese Community Center**, Los Angeles County
 36. **Hompa Hongwanji Buddhist Temple**, Los Angeles County
 37. **Iseki Labor Camp**, Fresno County
 - * 38. **Isleton Oriental School Site**, Sacramento County
 39. **Ivanhoe Gakuen**, Tulare County
 40. **Iwata Store Site**, Stanislaus County
-
41. **Japanese American News Building**, San Francisco
 42. **Japanese Salvation Army Building**, San Francisco
 - * 43. **Japanese Union Church of Los Angeles**, Los Angeles County
 44. **K. Shinoda**, Tulare County
 45. **Kamikawa Brothers**, Fresno County
 - * 46. **Kawasaki Labor Camp, Sierra Vista Ranch**, Tulare County
 47. **Kimochi**, San Francisco
 48. **Kings Hand Laundry**, Kings County
 49. **Kinmon Gakuen**, San Francisco
 50. **Kuwabara Hospital**, Santa Clara County
-
51. **Leslie Salt Company**, Alameda County
 52. **Little Tokyo**, Los Angeles County
 - * 53. **Manzanar**, Inyo County
 54. **Marysville Nihonmachi**, Yuba County
 55. **Miyajima Hotel**, San Joaquin County
 56. **Monterey Nihonjinkai**, Monterey County
 57. **Morioka's Orange Processing Shed**, Tulare County
 58. **Morning Star School**, San Francisco
 59. **Naturipe**, Santa Cruz County
 60. **Nihon Byoin-Hashiba Sanitarium**, Fresno County

* Sites included in this report

Historical Listing—cont'd.

- * 61. **Nippon Hospital**, San Joaquin County
 - 62. **Okonogi Hospital Site**, Fresno County
 - 63. **Orange County Civic Center Plaza Japanese Garden**, Orange County
 - 64. **Oxnard Buddhist Church**, Ventura County
 - 65. **Oxnard Japanese Cemetery**, Ventura County
 - * 66. **Oyama Property**, San Diego County
 - 67. **Point Lobos Canning Company Site**, Monterey County
 - 68. **Reedley Kyogi-Kai Hall**, Fresno County
 - 69. **Richmond Japanese Camp**, Contra Costa County
 - 70. **Rockville School House**, Solano County
-
- 71. **Sacramento Parkview Presbyterian Church**, Sacramento County
 - 72. **Sacramento Produce Company**, Sacramento County
 - 73. **San Diego Buddhist Temple**, San Diego County
 - 74. **San Francisco Japan Town/Nihonmachi**, San Francisco
 - 75. **San Francisco Japanese YMCA**, San Francisco
 - 76. **San Jose Japanese Methodist Episcopal Church**, Santa Clara County
 - * 77. **San Jose Japanese Theatre**, Santa Clara County
 - * 78. **San Jose Midwifery**, Santa Clara County
 - 79. **San Jose Nihonmachi**, Santa Clara County
 - 80. **San Luis Obispo Japanese Town**, San Luis Obispo County
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- * 81. **Sei Fujii Property**, Los Angeles County
 - 82. **Selma Japanese Mission Church**, Fresno County
 - * 83. **Shonien**, Los Angeles County
 - 84. **Sierra Madre Gakuen**, Los Angeles County
 - 85. **Southeast Japanese Community Center**, Los Angeles County
 - 86. **Southern California Flower Market**, Los Angeles County
 - * 87. **Terminal Island**, Los Angeles County
 - 88. **Terminal School**, Los Angeles County
 - 89. **Tsuda's Store**, Placer County
 - * 90. **Tule Lake**, Modoc County
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* Sites included in this report

Historical Listing—cont'd.

- 91. **Turlock Social Hall**, Stanislaus County
 - 92. **U.S. Kaneko Family Plot**, Riverside County
 - 93. **Vacaville Elmira Cemetery**, Solano County
 - 94. **Visalia Nihonmachi**, Tulare County
 - 95. **Visalia Public Cemetery**, Tulare County
 - 96. **Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm Colony Site**, El Dorado County
 - 97. **Walnut Grove**, Sacramento County
 - 98. **Walnut Grove Filipino Section**, Sacramento County
 - * 99. **Walnut Grove Oriental School Site**, Sacramento County
 - 100. **Watsonville Japanese Town**, Santa Cruz County
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- *101. **White Point**, Los Angeles County
 - 102. **Yamato Cemetery**, Monterey County
 - *103. **Yamato Colony**, Merced County
 - 104. **Yamato Hall/Tokyo Club Site**, Los Angeles County
 - 105. **Yamaguchi Labor Camp**, Tulare County

* Sites included in this report

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Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm Colony, El Dorado County



A History of **MEXICAN AMERICANS** in California

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A HISTORY OF MEXICAN AMERICANS IN CALIFORNIA

In 1846, the United States invaded and conquered California, then part of the Republic of Mexico. This event, one aspect of the 1846-1848 U.S.-Mexican War, led to U.S. annexation of California through the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Mexican American history in California had begun.

But if the Mexican American era in California was new, the roots of the Chicano* experience stretched back some three centuries to 1519 when Spaniards and their Indian allies carried out the conquest of the Aztec Empire in central Mexico and established what they called “New Spain.” Exploration and colonization spread from Mexico City in all directions. This eventually included settlements throughout the northern frontier in the areas now occupied by the states of Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and of course, California.

Hispanic settlement of what is now California began in 1769 when the Presidio and Catholic mission of San Diego were established. By 1823, 20 more missions dotted the California coast from San Diego to Sonoma, along with several military presidios and civilian communities. With few exceptions, the settlers and their descendants stayed close to the coast. There were few extensions into the California interior.

The California economy was based on agriculture and livestock. In contrast to central New Spain, coastal colonists found little mineral wealth. Some became farmers or ranchers, working for themselves on their own land or for other colonists. Government officials, priests, soldiers, and artisans settled in towns, missions, and presidios.

Socially, a combination class-caste system developed, although it lacked the rigidity of that in central New Spain. Most residents belonged to the lower and lower-middle classes, but some colonists arrived with or attained upper-class status, mainly through ranching or the acquisition of land grants. They reflected varied backgrounds -- *peninsular* (born in Spain), *criollo* (born in New Spain of pure Spanish ancestry), Indian, Black, *mestizo* (of Spanish and Indian ancestry), *mulato* (of Spanish and African ancestry), and *zambo* (of Indian and African ancestry). Most colonists were of mixed racial backgrounds, and the process of *mestizaje* (racial mixture) continued in California, including mixture with various California Indian civilizations. Many mestizos strove, sometimes successfully, to become identified as pure-blooded Spaniards because racial identity affected socio-economic mobility. Whites generally held major government positions, church offices, and private lands, while mestizos and Indians were concentrated at lower levels of the social structure. However, many people with mixed blood did succeed in becoming ranch owners and leading Californios, which sometimes brought an accompanying change of ethnic identity.

For the most part, Spanish California developed in relative isolation despite nominal central government control through appointed officials. When Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821, central government control was even further diminished. In particular, Mexican independence opened the California door to trade with other countries, especially the United States. In the early 1820s, Anglo-Americans[†] developed an intensive trade with California via sailing ships around Cape Horn. The Old Spanish Trail, established in 1829 to link Los Angeles and Santa Fe, New

* *Chicano*: a term for Mexican Americans or U.S. residents of Mexican descent. - Ed.

† *Anglo-American*: a term sometimes used to describe non-Hispanic White residents of the U.S. (informally, “Anglo”). - Ed.

Mexico, became the first major northern Mexican interprovincial trade route. Moreover, it linked California to the Santa Fe Trail between New Mexico and the United States.

Trade with the United States began the process of economic detachment of California and New Mexico from central Mexico. Ships brought hides and tallow from California in exchange for manufactured goods from both the United States and England. Increased trade led to increased demand for consumer goods, and therefore, greater dependence on the United States as the primary source of supply. Along with a burgeoning economy, California also experienced periodic revolutions, as large landowners vied for political supremacy, and the Mexican government made intermittent, sometimes unpopular, efforts to tighten the reins.

One of the most dramatic and significant events of the Mexican period occurred in 1833, when the Mexican government secularized the missions. This meant that vast mission landholdings were taken over by the government, which in turn awarded them as land grants to Californios. Soon huge sprawling ranchos became the basic socio-economic units of the province. While upward mobility remained difficult, some Mexicans succeeded in making the transition into the California elite, particularly with the help of these land grants.

During the 1821-1846 period, Anglo-Americans began to settle in California. Many of these settlers, particularly those who had come by ship, eventually married Mexican women (usually of the local aristocracy), became Mexican citizens, and obtained land grants. In contrast, Anglo overland pioneers who settled in the Sacramento Valley of northern California brought their families, stayed to themselves, and resisted integration into Mexican society. It was this group that ultimately rebelled in 1846 against its Mexican hosts and formed the short-lived secessionist Bear Flag Republic, which disappeared during the U.S. conquest of California.

The Mexican War

In 1846, the U.S.-Mexican War erupted. Tensions between the two countries had been developing for years over the obvious U.S. goal of expanding to the Pacific coast. The United States had made several offers to purchase all or part of northern Mexico, offers that Mexico rejected. In 1842, the United States revealed that it was prepared to use force to take what money could not buy, when the commander of the Pacific squadron invaded and captured Monterey, the capital of California, and returned it with apologies.

On the other side, Mexico's antagonism toward the United States was exacerbated by annexation of Texas, a former Mexican province that had revolted in 1835. The Texas rebels had extracted a battlefield treaty from Mexico recognizing the independence of Texas, but the Mexican government had never ratified it. To Mexico, therefore, U.S. annexation of Texas was grand theft and unconscionable aggression.

The precipitating incident of the war came in April 1846, when small units of Mexican and U.S. soldiers clashed in disputed territory between the Nueces River (the Texas boundary recognized by Mexico) and the Rio Grande (the boundary claimed by Texas). The incident provided a pretext for an annexation decision already made by U.S. President James K. Polk, who ordered invasion by U.S. troops. Fighting in northeastern Mexico was followed by the landing of U.S. forces at Veracruz and an advance overland from there to Mexico City. Simultaneously, other U.S. forces occupied the province of New Mexico and then marched to California, most of which had already come under U.S. control as the result of a naval invasion and the Bear Flag Revolt.

The initial U.S. occupation of California occurred without bloodshed, but Mexican armed reaction ultimately broke out in both New Mexico and California. Mexican patriots, mainly citizen volunteers, were victorious in 1846 in battles at Los Angeles, San Pasqual, Chino Rancho, and elsewhere. But eventually they had to submit to the trained and better-armed U.S. forces. By early 1847, the United States had established control over California and the rest of northern Mexico, and proceeded to absorb this territory. The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo between the United States and Mexico confirmed the land transfer.

No sooner had the treaty been signed than the first major post-war influx of Anglos began, fueled by the discovery of gold in 1848. The 10,000 Californios (pre-conquest Mexican Californians) soon found the territory swamped by Anglo-American migrants and foreign immigrants. The latter included Chileans, Peruvians, Basques, and Mexicans, particularly miners from the Mexican province of Sonora. However, despite this Latino immigration, the Spanish-speaking population of California fell to 15 percent by 1850, and to four percent by 1870.

Northern California received the major thrust of the Anglo gold rush migration, while southern California remained heavily Mexican. This ethnic contrast was one factor in the debate over the possibility of dividing California into two states, as happened in the case of New Mexico and Arizona. However, the coming of the transcontinental railroad to southern California in the 1870s spurred a land boom and the state's second major population explosion. By the 1880s, Anglo settlers were also numerically dominant in the southern part of the state.

The presence of a Mexican majority in 1848 contributed to a promising start for good ethnic relations in California. Californios participated widely in the early post-conquest government, and provided eight of the 48 delegates to the 1849 state constitutional convention. There they won such transitory victories as a provision that all state laws and regulations be translated into Spanish. In southern California, where Californios remained a majority in some places until the 1880s, they continued to be elected to local and county positions, and a handful held state offices or seats in the legislature.

Post-Conquest California



Leo Carrillo Ranch, San Diego County

However, the rapid establishment of a heavy statewide Anglo majority quickly rendered Mexican Americans politically powerless at the state level. As a result, they could not prevent enactment of inequitable and sometimes discriminatory laws. For example, the legislature placed the heaviest tax burden on land, an abrupt and decimating shift from the Mexican system of taxing production rather than land. Although this tax also hurt Anglo landowners, it seriously undermined the Californio economic position, based primarily on ranching. The Foreign Miners' Tax of 1850, a \$20 monthly fee for the right to mine, was applied not only to foreign immigrants but also to California-born Mexicans, who had automatically become U.S. citizens under the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The state anti-vagrancy act of 1855 was so obviously anti-Mexican that it became known popularly as the Greaser Law. Possibly the most blatantly anti-Mexican law was the 1855 act negating the constitutional requirement that laws be translated into Spanish. Finally, there were growing vigilantism and squatter violence against Californio landowners.

Land had been the basis of the California socio-economic system. The loss of land after the U.S. conquest undermined that system, in spite of the theoretical protections provided by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Holders of Spanish and Mexican land grants, most of whom were Mexican Americans, had to seek legal confirmation of their titles. In effect, the federal government placed the burden of proof on the landowners instead of automatically accepting all titles and then handling challenges on an individual basis.

Already suffering from heavy taxes and lacking capital, Chicano landowners had to go through the slow, expensive process of legally confirming their claims, and often were forced to borrow money at high interest rates to cover the costs of the legal struggle. Moreover, they had to argue their cases before U.S. judges and land commissioners unfamiliar with Hispanic legal principles and the land tenure system on which land grants were based. Even when they did win confirmation of their grants, Mexican Americans often found themselves personally destitute, or had to sacrifice their land to pay their legal expenses.

To adjudicate landholdings in California, Congress passed the Land Act of 1851, establishing a Board of Land Commissioners to review claims. If appealed, cases moved on to the U.S. district court, and even the Supreme Court. Of the 813 claims, 549 were appealed (417 by government attorneys), some as many as six times. The board went out of business in 1856, but multiple appeals caused land cases to drag on for an average of 17 years.

Loss of land contributed heavily to relegation of Mexican Americans to the lower echelons of the California socio-economic system. The loss eroded their economic base, undermined their political power, and displaced ranchworkers. Some Chicanos managed to find work in traditional occupations, such as vaquero or sheepshearer, but often only on a part-time basis. Most displaced Chicanos became laborers, poorly paid and often migratory, in expanding large-scale commercial agriculture. Others moved to cities, where their pastoral and agricultural skills were of little use. Many found employment in railroads, construction, and food processing.

Increasingly incorporated into the labor market in the nineteenth century as unskilled or semi-skilled manual laborers, Chicanos experienced job displacement, and in some areas, actual downward occupational mobility. Anglo hostility and low levels of education limited their access to jobs in the rapidly expanding white-collar sector, and Chicanos also

encountered obstacles to upward mobility even in occupations in which they had considerable skill and experience. In Los Angeles, for example, Chicanos disappeared completely from the ranks of hatmakers, masons, and tailors. Despite long pastoral experience, Chicanos found employment on ranches only as ranchhands, while Anglos held most supervisory positions.

Another aspect of the nineteenth century economic shift was the entry of Mexican American women into the labor market. As Mexican American men found themselves more occupationally disadvantaged, women became increasingly employed as domestics, laundresses, farm laborers, and cannery and packinghouse workers. A rise in the proportion of female-headed households reflected these socio-economic stresses.

Concomitant with the Chicano economic decline was emergence of residential and social segregation. Chicano barrios and colonias consisted of various types. Some traditional Mexican towns became transformed into barrios as Anglos immigrated and established their own segregated neighborhoods, or as newly established Anglo cities expanded until they enveloped historic Mexican communities. Displaced Chicanos and immigrating Mexicans often established new barrios and colonias.

Barrios and colonias developed and survived through a combination of force and choice. In Anglo areas, anti-Mexican segregation, often embedded in restrictive covenants on real estate, slammed the residential door on the vast majority of Mexican Americans, the major exceptions being Chicanos with wealth, social status, light skins, and presumed Spanish identity. On the other hand, most Chicanos and new Mexican immigrants probably preferred living among people who shared their heritage, culture, and language. The little intermarriage that took place almost always involved Anglo men and daughters from wealthy "Spanish" families -- events that often accompanied business partnerships or political alliances.

In Chicano areas, traditional extended family and community social life flourished. There were bullfights, rodeos, horse races, and various fiestas, including the celebration of Mexican Independence Day (September 16) and Cinco de Mayo (May 5 -- the 1862 Mexican victory over the French at Puebla). The Catholic Church often provided a focus for social as well as religious life. Mexican American political, cultural, patriotic, and mutual aid organizations began to develop, but remained generally local in focus. Chicano newspapers strengthened community cohesion and spoke out against injustices, but they were undercapitalized, and were forced to engage in a constant, ultimately losing struggle for survival.

Faced with a pervasive pattern of economic dislocation, declining political influence, violence, and discrimination, Chicanos fought back.

Usually, they maneuvered within the system -- through the courts, political channels, and newspapers -- but at times they resorted to force to defend their rights. Some Chicanos, such as Tiburcio Vasquez, turned to banditry for survival and as a means of expressing grievances and frustrations with Anglo treatment. Nonetheless, by the end of the nineteenth century, Chicanos had declined from an influential majority to a relatively powerless minority.

REVOLUTION TO DEPRESSION: 1900-1940

The first three decades of the twentieth century saw rapid growth in the size of the California Chicano population. However, the stage for this growth had been set by years of social and economic changes in Mexico and the United States.

Development of mining and industry in northern Mexico, as well as building of north-south railroad lines, attracted large numbers of Mexicans to the northern part of the country in the late nineteenth century. There they learned new industrial, mining, and railroad skills that would be useful later in the United States. The railroad also provided a quicker and easier means of travel to the north. At the same time, economic pressures were mounting. Many small landowners were losing their holdings to expanding haciendas, while farm workers were increasingly and systematically trapped into peonage by accumulating debts.

Finally in 1910, political opponents of President Porfirio Diaz revolted. He was quickly overthrown, but replacement of his government did not end the Mexican Revolution which spread throughout the country and took on deep social and economic, rather than merely political ramifications. The resulting chaos drove thousands of Mexicans north. Beyond physical proximity, the United States offered jobs -- in industry, in mines, on railroads, and in agriculture -- and all at wage levels far higher than those in Mexico. World War I further increased the demand for Mexican labor.

In the 1920s, the pace of emigration increased, spurred in part by the short but violent Cristero Revolution (1926-1929), while the U.S. economy continued to expand and attract Mexican labor. Nearly one-half million Mexicans entered the United States on permanent visas during the 1920s, some 11 percent of total U.S. immigration during that decade. Thousands more entered informally, before passage of restrictive regulations. Even after establishment of more stringent immigration rules and procedures, thousands continued to cross without legal sanction. Many of them were ignorant of the required legal processes; others sought to avoid the head tax, the expense of a visa, and bureaucratic delays at the border. Coyotes -- as the professional labor contractors and border-crossing experts were known -- often received commissions from U.S. businesses. They began the industry of smuggling people and forging documents that continues to the present.

Most Mexican immigrants settled in the Southwest. By 1930, more than 30 percent of Mexican-born U.S. residents lived in California. They entered nearly every occupation classified as unskilled or semi-skilled. Chicanos became the bulwark of southwestern agriculture. By 1930, manufacturing, transportation, communications, and domestic and personal service had become the other major sectors of Chicano employment. Chicanos made up 75 percent of the work force of the six major western railroads. They also held blue-collar positions in construction, food processing, textiles, automobile industries, steel production, and utilities. In California during the 1920s, Chicanos constituted up to two-thirds of the work force in many industries.

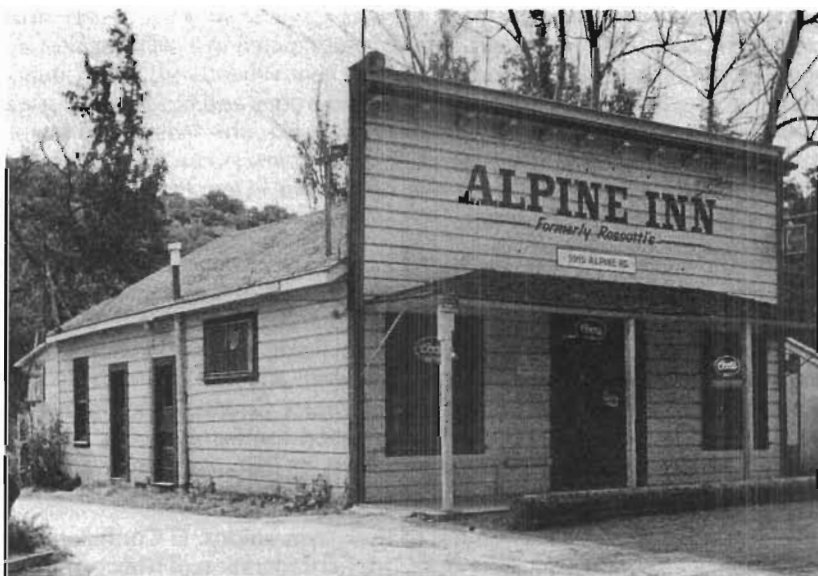
A small Chicano middle class developed, often oriented toward serving the Chicano population. The growth of barrios and colonias fostered expansion of small businesses such as grocery and dry-goods stores, restaurants, barber shops, and tailor shops. Small construction firms emerged. Chicanos entered the teaching profession, usually working in private Chicano schools or in segregated public schools.

Many factors kept Chicanos in a marginal status. The geographical isolation of employment sites, particularly in railroading, agriculture, and agriculturally related industry, often reduced opportunities for Chicanos to gain familiarity with U.S. society through personal contact. Chicanos also encountered various forms of segregation. These included maintenance of separate Anglo and Mexican public schools, restrictive covenants on residential property, segregated restaurants, separate "white" and "colored" sections in theaters, and special "colored" days in segregated swimming pools. Numerous government agencies, religious groups, and private social service organizations, however, made special efforts to assist in the acculturation of Chicanos by providing instruction in the English language, U.S. culture, and job skills.

The dramatic increase in Mexican immigration affected Chicano residential patterns. Thousands settled in older barrios, causing overcrowding and generating construction of cheap housing to meet the sudden demand. In some barrios, Mexican immigrants attained such numerical dominance that U.S.-born Chicanos became a minority within a minority. Immigrants sometimes formed new barrios adjacent to historical Chicano areas or new colonias in agricultural or railroad labor camps.

The growth in the size and number of Chicano communities fostered the growth of community activities. In the early twentieth century, there was a major increase in Chicano organizations, particularly *mutualistas* (mutual aid societies). Some adopted descriptive or symbolic names, such as Club Reciproco (Reciprocal Club) or Sociedad Progresista Mexicana (Mexican Progressive Society). Others selected names of Mexican heroes, such as Sociedad Mutualista Miguel Hidalgo (the father of Mexican independence), Sociedad Mutualista Benito Juarez (the famous Mexican Liberal president), or Sociedad Ignacio Zaragosa (the victorious Texas-born general at the Battle of Puebla, 1862).

Membership varied. Some organizations were exclusively male or female; others had mixed membership. Most developed as representative of the working class, but others were essentially middle or upper-class, or reflected a cross-section of wealth and occupations. Although each mu-



Casa de Tableta/Buelna's Roadhouse, San Mateo County

tualista had its special goals, they all provided a focus for social life with such activities as meetings, family gatherings, lectures, discussions, cultural presentations, and commemoration of both U.S. and Mexican holidays.

Most provided services, such as assistance to families in need, emergency loans, legal services, mediation of disputes, and medical, life, and burial insurance. Some organized libraries or operated *escuelitas* (little schools), providing training in Mexican culture, Spanish, and basic school subjects to supplement the inferior education many Chicanos felt their children received in the public schools. Mutualistas helped immigrants adapt to life in the United States. Many mutualistas became involved in civil rights issues, such as the legal defense of Chicanos and the struggle against residential, school, or public segregation and other forms of discrimination. Some engaged in political activism, including support of candidates for public office. At times, mutualistas provided support for Chicanos on strike. Coalitions of Chicano organizations were formed, such as La Liga Protectora Latina (Latin Protective League) and El Confederacion de Sociedades Mexicanas (Confederation of Mexican Societies) in Los Angeles.

In addition to mutualistas, a variety of other cultural, political, service, and social organizations were developed in the early twentieth century, as communities grew or were formed. Possibly the most turbulent Chicano organizational activity of that era was in the labor sphere, where Mexicans played ironically conflicting roles. Because of depressed wages and unemployment in Mexico, Mexican workers could earn more in the United States, even by accepting jobs at pay levels that Anglos refused. Employers thus used Mexican labor to hold down pay scales, and often reached across the border to recruit Mexicans as strikebreakers. Because of the antipathy Mexicans generated in these roles, and also because of the biases of union leaders, local chapters of U.S. labor unions often refused to accept Chicanos as members, or required them to establish segregated locals.

There were Mexican strikers as well as strikebreakers, though. Chicanos were in the forefront of agricultural strikes. In 1903, more than 1,000 Mexican and Japanese sugar-beet workers carried out a successful strike near Ventura. In 1913, Mexican workers participated in a strike against degrading conditions on the Durst hop ranch, near Wheatland, Yuba County. Although the intervention of National Guard troops and the arrest of some 100 migrant workers broke the back of the strike, the Wheatland events contributed to establishment of the California Commission on Immigration and Housing, and recognition of the oppressive living and working conditions of agricultural laborers.

Throughout the late 1920s and early 1930s, Mexicans led or participated in a number of agricultural strikes throughout California. Mexicans struck Imperial Valley melon fields in 1928 and 1930. In 1933, El Monte strawberry fields, San Joaquin Valley cotton fields and fruit orchards, Hayward pea fields, and many other locales were affected. Strikes spread to Redlands citrus groves in 1936, and to Ventura County lemon groves in 1941. Mexicans also challenged the related food-processing industry through strikes by lettuce packers in Salinas in 1936, cannery workers in Stockton in 1937, and others.

Chicanos created a number of their own unions. El Confederacion de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas (CUOM, Confederation of Mexican Labor Unions) was formed in 1928. Among its goals were equal pay for Mexicans and Anglos doing the same job, termination of job discrimination against

Chicano workers, and limitation on the immigration of Mexican workers into the United States. At its height, CUOM had about 20 locals and 3,000 workers.

In the early 1930s, Chicanos established some 40 agricultural unions in California. The largest, El Confederacion de Uniones de Campesinos y Obreros Mexicanos (CUCOM, Confederation of Mexican Farm Workers' and Laborers' Unions), created in 1933, ultimately included 50 locals and 5,000 members. Most of these unions later joined the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The Great Depression brought a dramatic population reversal among Mexican Americans. Tabulated immigration to the United States from Mexico fell from nearly 500,000 during the 1920s to only 32,700 during the 1930s. At the same time, official figures indicate that some half-million persons of Mexican descent moved to Mexico.

The Depression displaced millions of American workers, and the drastic midwestern drought dispossessed thousands more, many of whom headed for California. As a result, California Chicanos not only lost their jobs in the cities along with other Americans, but also found themselves displaced from agricultural jobs by Dust Bowl migrants. Whereas before the Depression Anglos had composed less than 20 percent of California migratory agricultural laborers, by 1936, they had increased to more than 85 percent.

The shrinking job market caused Anglo attitudes toward Mexicans in the United States to change. Previously welcomed as important contributors to an expanding agriculture and industry, Mexicans now were seen as "surplus labor." No longer considered the backbone of California agriculture and invaluable contributors to other employment sectors, Mexicans instead were viewed as an economic liability, and had become objects of resentment as recipients of scarce public relief funds.

The government's solution was the Repatriation Program. In cooperation with the Mexican government, which had regretted the loss of so many able workers, U.S. federal, state, county, and local officials applied pressure on Mexicans to "voluntarily" return to Mexico. At times, this pro-



La Union Espanola de Vacaville, Solano County

WORLD WAR II AND ITS AFTERMATH

cedure resulted in outright deportation. Mexican aliens who lacked documents of legal residency, including many who had entered the United States in good faith during an earlier period when immigration from Mexico was a more informal process, were particularly vulnerable. Among the victims of the process were naturalized and U.S.-born husbands, wives, and children of Mexican repatriates, who had to choose between remaining in the United States or maintaining family unity by moving to Mexico.

The Depression era also sharpened long-existent Chicano distrust of government, particularly its agents of law enforcement. During the Depression, the use of violence to break strikes and disrupt union activities was widespread and added to Chicano antagonism toward law-enforcement officials. The Repatriation Program further increased Chicano distrust of government.

World War II marked another sharp reversal in the course of Chicano history, renewing hope where the Depression had brought despair. The Depression had left in its wake a population decline, devastated communities, and shattered dreams; the war brought population growth, resurgent communities, and rising expectations.

World War II caused a tremendous labor shortage. When the military forces called for recruits, Mexican Americans responded in great number and went on to serve with distinction. Some 350,000 Chicanos served in the armed services and won 17 medals of honor. The war also brought industrial expansion, further aggravating the labor shortage caused by growth of the armed forces. Chicanos thus managed to gain entry to jobs and industries that had been virtually closed to them in the past. These new opportunities liberated many Chicanos from dependence on such traditional occupations as agriculture.

The turnaround from the labor surplus of the 1930s to the labor shortage of the 1940s had a special impact on agriculture and transportation. For help, the United States turned to Mexico, and in 1942 the two nations formulated the Bracero Program. From then until 1964, Mexican braceros were a regular part of the U.S. labor scene, reaching a peak of 450,000 workers in 1959. Most engaged in agriculture; they formed 26 percent of the nation's seasonal agricultural labor force in 1960.

Along with opportunities, World War II also brought increased tensions between Chicanos and law-enforcement agencies. Two events in Los Angeles brought this issue into focus. In the Sleepy Lagoon case of 1942-1943, 17 Chicano youths were convicted of charges ranging from assault to first-degree murder for the death of a Mexican American boy discovered on the outskirts of the city. Throughout the trial, the judge openly displayed bias against Chicanos, and allowed the prosecution to bring in racial factors. Further, the defendants were not permitted haircuts or changes of clothing. In 1944, the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee obtained a reversal of the convictions from the California District Court of Appeals, but the damage had been done. Los Angeles newspapers sensationalized the case and helped create an anti-Mexican atmosphere. Police harassed Chicano youth clubs, and repeatedly rounded up Chicano youth "under suspicion."

In the aftermath of the convictions and the press campaign, conflict broke out between U.S. servicemen in the area and young Mexican Americans who often dressed in the zoot suits popular during the wartime era. Soldiers and sailors declared open season on Chicanos, attacking them on the streets and even dragging them out of theaters and public vehicles. Instead of intervening to stop the attackers, military and local police moved

in afterward and arrested the Chicano victims. Spurred on by sensational, anti-Mexican press coverage of the "zoot-suit riots," these assaults spread throughout Southern California and even into midwestern cities. A citizens' investigating committee appointed by the governor later reported that racial prejudice, discriminatory police practices, and inflammatory press coverage were among the principal causes of the riots. The Sleepy Lagoon case and the zoot-suit affair provided the basis for Luis Valdez's *Zoot Suit*, which in 1979 became the first Chicano play to appear on Broadway.

Despite such events as these, the World War II era proved to be generally positive for Mexican Americans and is often viewed as a watershed in their history. Progress continued after the war. The G.I. Bill of Rights gave all veterans such benefits as educational subsidies and loans for business and housing. Moreover, returning Chicano servicemen refused to accept the discriminatory practices that had been the Chicanos' lot. The G.I. generation furnished much of the leadership for post-war Mexican American civil rights and political activism.

Veterans were instrumental in the founding and growth of a variety of Chicano organizations. Among the heavily political organizations, the Unity Leagues and the Community Service Organization registered voters in California and supported Chicano candidates. These groups also engaged in such diverse activities as language and citizenship education, court challenges against school segregation, and assistance in obtaining government services. Even more overtly political has been the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA).

Chicano progress since World War II is reflected in occupational patterns. Changes in Mexican American job concentrations reflect to some extent changes in the state economy. Since 1940, California has experienced a manufacturing boom and rapid growth in such areas as government, product distribution, consumer-oriented activities, and professional services. Percentages of Mexican Americans in agriculture and unskilled



Quinto Sol Publication's first office location, Alameda County

labor positions have declined, while percentages in professional, technical, managerial, clerical, skilled craft, and semi-skilled occupations have risen.

The post-Depression era brought socio-economic gains for Mexican Americans, but not equality. Although percentages of Mexican Americans in professional, technical, managerial, and clerical positions have increased, they still fall far short of parity according to their population numbers. Moreover, in nearly every major occupational group, Chicanos tend to hold inferior jobs, and Chicano earnings in the same job classifications tend to be lower than those of Anglos.

Inequitable economic conditions are paralleled by comparatively low Chicano educational attainment and severe underrepresentation among elected officials. The latter has resulted partially because thousands of Mexican immigrants have lived in California for decades without obtaining U.S. citizenship. With Mexico so close, many come with plans ultimately to "return home," although these dreams often go unfulfilled. Some Mexican immigrants, although harboring no desire to live in Mexico, have refused to surrender their Mexican citizenship. In comparison to immigrants from other parts of the world, Mexicans and other Latinos have been more reluctant to become naturalized citizens.

Other factors have also contributed to Chicano electoral underrepresentation. In 1977, for example, a California legislative committee on elections partially attributed Chicanos' limited representation on most city councils in cities with significant Chicano populations to the predominant use of citywide at-large elections instead of district elections. There were no Chicano council members at all in 42 such cities in California. The committee argued that local at-large elections prevent "minority voters from exercising their potential political weight," since "their votes disappear in a sea of majority group votes." On the other hand, some contend that at-large elections make it less likely that candidates will write off minority votes as irrelevant, as can happen in ward-based contests.

When it comes to military service, combat decorations, and war-time casualties, however, Chicanos have been overrepresented in terms of population. Because of their lower educational attainment and restricted employment opportunities, Chicanos have traditionally viewed military service as a viable economic option. And since they were underrepresented in higher education, Mexican Americans did not benefit from student deferments as frequently as Anglos.

Finally, the 1970 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report, *Mexican-Americans and the Administration of Justice in the Southwest*, documented unequal treatment of Chicanos by law-enforcement agencies and the judicial system. Among widespread abuses cited in this and other studies are the lack of bilingual translators in court proceedings; underrepresentation of Chicanos on grand juries, as judges, and as law-enforcement officers; unequal assignment of punishment and probation to convicted Chicanos; excessive patrolling of Chicano barrios; anti-Mexican prejudice among police and judicial officials; and even wrongful use of law-enforcement agencies. In the search for undocumented Mexicans, the U.S. Border Patrol has exacerbated antipathy among Mexican Americans by periodic raids on houses, apartments, restaurants, and bars in Chicano communities and predominantly Chicano places of employment.

The Chicano Movement

This negative side of the post-World War II Mexican American experience provided background and impetus for the Chicano movement. Rising from the turbulent 1960s and drawing on the century-long foundation of Mexican American experience, the Chicano movement has become a dynamic force for societal change. The movement is not a monolith, but is rather an amalgam of individuals and organizations who share a sense of pride in *Mexicanidad*, a dedication to enhancement of Chicano culture, mutual identification, a desire to improve the Chicano socio-economic position, and a commitment to making constructive changes in U.S. society.

A major focus of contemporary Chicanos has been politics. Political goals have included increasing the number of Chicano candidates, convincing non-Chicano candidates to commit themselves to the needs of the Mexican American community, conducting broad-scale voter registration and community organization drives, working for appointment of more Chicanos in government, and supporting passage of constructive legislation. Some Chicanos have chosen to work through the two major political parties or through theoretically nonpartisan organizations, such as the Mexican-American Political Association. Others have channeled their political efforts through El Partido de la Raza Unida (PRU, United People's Party), which was founded in south Texas by Jose Angel Gutierrez. While Chicanos have not demonstrated political influence commensurate with their growing numbers, the increase in Chicano elected and appointed officials reflects growing Chicano political presence.

Chicanos have given considerable contemporary attention to economic change. Goals and strategies have varied -- upgrading occupations, creating more private businesses (Brown Capitalism), and forming cooperative community development enterprises are examples. The most visible and publicly dramatic aspect of the Chicano economic struggle has been the United Farm Workers' movement led by Cesar Chavez.

Education has long been a primary target of Mexican American reformers. Well before the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed school desegregation in the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954, California Chicanos had challenged educational discrimination. In 1946, *Mendez v. Westminster School District* resulted in banning separate Chicano schools



Cesar Chavez family home in Delano, Kern County

in California. Yet the U.S. Civil Rights Commission pointed out that in the late 1960s, one-quarter of Chicanos in California attended schools with more than 50 percent Chicanos.

The Chicano movement has striven for a variety of educational goals, including reduction of school drop-out rates, improvement of educational attainment, development of bilingual-bicultural programs, expansion of higher education fellowships and support services, creation of courses and programs in Chicano studies, and an increase in the number of Chicano teachers and administrators. The traditional campaign for desegregation and the newer drive for bilingual-bicultural education, of course, involve objectives that are not always easy to reconcile. In a seeming turnabout after years of struggling for desegregation, some contemporary Mexican American educational leaders recently have taken strong stands against cross-town busing in such communities as Los Angeles, fearing that dispersion of Chicano students will prevent them from participating in hard-won bilingual educational programs.

At times, Chicanos have adopted the traditional tactic of working quietly through existing channels, or attempted to elect Chicano or pro-Chicano school board members. At other times, out of frustration, they have turned to walkouts, sit-ins, and direct confrontations with school boards and administrations. Students have provided much of the effort toward educational reform through such organizations as the United Mexican-American Students (UMAS) and Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA, Chicano Student Movement of the Southwest). The Chicano movement has also spurred establishment of Chicano alternative schools and institutions of higher education, such as Universidad de la Tierra in Goshen, Universidad de Campesinos Libres in Fresno, and Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University in Davis, Yolo County, the first Chicano/American Indian university.

Among other institutions affected by the Chicano movement has been the Catholic Church. Although many individual Catholic priests have historically made non-religious contributions to Mexican Americans, the Church as an institution tended to avoid involvement in Chicano societal issues. During the Repatriation Program, for example, the Church generally remained silent, and did little on behalf of affected Mexicans. Although some Catholic priests and Protestant clergymen have taken their place alongside Cesar Chavez and his followers, priests serving in strike areas have often withheld support for the strikers so as not to alienate growers. The Chicano movement generated such organizations as *Catolicos por la Raza* (Catholics for the Chicano People), which challenged the Church for pouring its money into opulent structures while neglecting to invest in social services to improve conditions for the Chicano poor. Some critics addressed the Church's failure to recruit and promote Chicano priests.

The Chicano movement has also generated a Chicano cultural renaissance and has contributed to a broader Hispanic cultural renaissance in the United States. Art, music, literature, theater, and other forms of expression have flourished. Spanish-language and bilingual media, including television and radio stations, newspapers, magazines, and motion pictures, have expanded in number and impact.

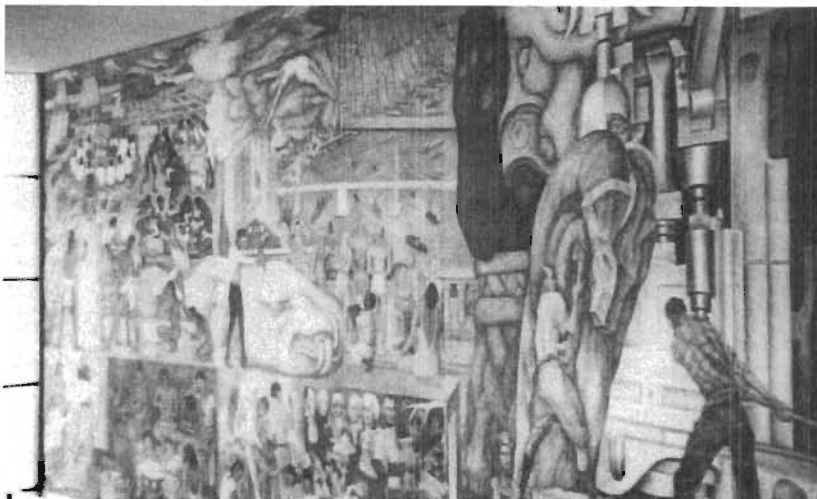
Particularly in the twentieth century, Chicanos have worked in such fields of art as painting, drawing, sculpture, and lithography, and in recent years, have developed a full-scale Chicano art movement. Possibly the two most distinctive vehicles of contemporary Chicano art are muralism and graffiti.

Muralism harks back to the tradition of the great Mexican muralists of the post-Revolution era. Mural themes run from dramatizations of the Mexican Revolution to depictions of the Chicano experience to abstract expressionism. This form of visual expression is a true people's art, oriented toward the many of the community rather than the few in the art gallery. It can be seen on outside walls of stores, schools, churches, hospitals, and government buildings, in public parks, and even on freeway support pillars, often blended imaginatively with architectural elements. Some barrio gangs have become involved in mural painting, at times using murals as boundary lines between their respective turfs.

The pop-art companion to mural art as an omnipresent symbol of barrio expression is Chicano graffiti. Unlike crude or clever sayings and rhymes written on public walls, Chicano graffiti consists of purposefully conceived sets of symbols or symbolic words, notable in their careful, angular lettering. Barrio gangs generally have developed their own special symbols -- *placas* -- to denote their territory or their presence on the turf of other groups. Some Chicano muralists have integrated graffiti into their work, at times incorporating existing graffiti by painting around the symbols.

Along with the contemporary movement in the visual arts among Chicanos has come a literary movement. Novels, poetry, short stories, essays, and plays have flowed from the pens of contemporary Chicano writers. Two special characteristics are common to many of these writings. First, they often emphasize Mexican American culture and experience, especially the themes of Anglo prejudice, discrimination, and exploitation. Second, they are often bilingual -- usually written primarily in English with a smattering of Spanish words and phrases, though some works, particularly poetry, are entirely in Spanish.

One distinctive aspect of current Chicano expression is the *teatro* (theater). Most famous is El Teatro Campesino (Farm Workers' Theater), founded in 1965 by Luis Valdez as a component of Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers' movement, but now an independent organization. The teatro also emphasizes themes of Anglo discrimination, Chicano resistance, and Mexican heritage. Productions blend English and Spanish, and often



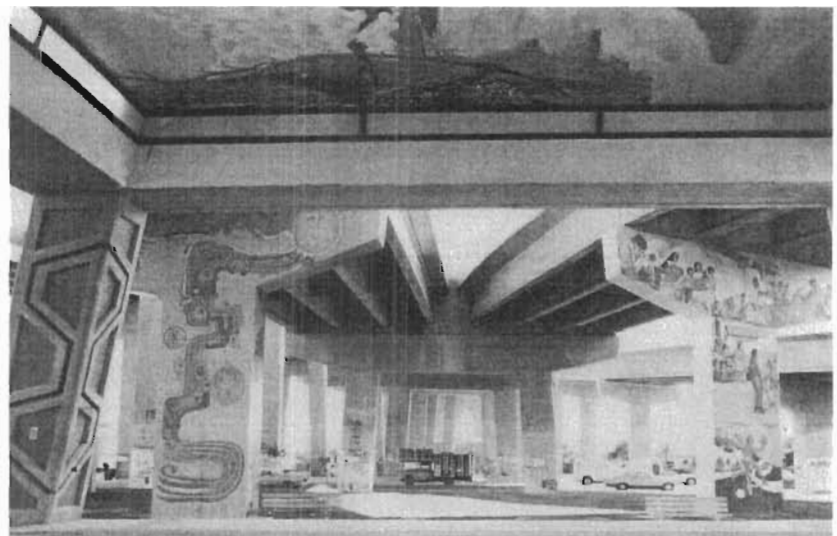
Pan American Unity Mural by Diego Rivera, San Francisco City College, San Francisco County

include music. Some presentations are a series of relatively brief *actos*, although the teatro also offers full-length plays. Using an epic theater style in which actors interact directly with the audience and demythologize theater, El Teatro Campesino has attained broad popularity, and has inspired creation of other teatros in barrios and universities throughout the country.

The Chicano teatro movement has included both ephemeral groups (some university teatros disappeared after graduation of their founders and early leaders) and some that have managed to survive despite constant financial pressures. A recent artistic trend has been away from the *teatro popular* toward a more professional theater, and greater use of English (partially owing to increased professional training, the growth of U.S.-born Chicano audiences, and the attempt to attract non-Chicano audiences). In 1978, *Zoot Suit* by Luis Valdez premiered, and enjoyed a long run in Los Angeles. The following year, it became the first Chicano play to appear on Broadway.

California has also been the scene of a boom in Chicano publications as a whole, including newspapers, magazines, and scholarly journals. Chicano newspapers have existed in California since the 1850s. However, most have had limited circulation and even more limited longevity, primarily for two reasons. First, the Chicano population remained relatively small until the early twentieth century, and the reading public was rendered even smaller by limited literacy. Second, such papers were plagued by undercapitalization and limited local advertising. That they achieved even a limited success, particularly during the nineteenth century, is a tribute to the determination of Chicano journalists. This determination paid off in the twentieth century when some Chicano newspapers, such as *La Opinion* (1926-) of Los Angeles, became permanent. The impetus of the Chicano movement in the 1960s and 1970s brought a rapid expansion of the Chicano press, but the problems of undercapitalization and of educating large institutional advertisers to the potential of the Mexican American market remain.

Possibly the newest surge of Chicano expression has come in the field of motion pictures. Chicano filmmakers have expanded from documentaries to feature films, and are sometimes helped by Mexico City stu-



Chicano Park/Logan Heights, San Diego County

dios. Los Angeles, quite naturally, has been the most active movie-making area, with several independent Chicano production companies located there.

Unquestionably, Chicanos and other Hispanics will play increasingly important roles in California's future, if for no other reason than numbers alone. Since World War II, Mexican immigration has remained at a constantly significant level. While the Bracero Program and the entry of countless numbers of undocumented workers have received the most scholarly and journalistic attention, there has been a parallel increase in immigration of Mexicans with permanent visas. During the past decade, in particular, there has also been a sharp increase in immigrants from Central America and South America.

Along with this continuous immigration from Latin America, the number of U.S.-born Latinos in California continues to rise. Birth rates and family size among Hispanics continue to be larger than the U.S. average, although recent years have witnessed a decline in the Hispanic birth rate. Moreover, the Hispanic population is considerably younger than the overall U.S. population, another indicator of potential future population increase. One reflection of the changing demographic face of California is the fact that Hispanics now compose about half of all kindergarten stu-

The Future



Sixteenth Street Victoria Theatre, San Francisco County

dents in the Los Angeles Unified School District, the state's largest district, while other school districts are reporting equally dramatic increases in Hispanics.

But numbers alone do not tell the story. While progress has generally been slow, Chicanos and other Hispanics are now making strides in education, political sophistication, and effectiveness for constructive societal change. Their ability to accomplish this change should be further strengthened as pan-Hispanic identity among various Latino national-origin groups becomes a greater reality. These three factors -- numerical growth, developing skills and awareness, and greater pan-Hispanic identity -- make it almost certain that Hispanics will have an unprecedented influence over the future of California.

SITES

Asociacion de Charros Camperos Del Valle

Sunol, Alameda County

Organized in 1971, the Asociacion de Charros Camperos del Valle in Sunol is located on a 25-acre site in Alameda County. The stables, horse stalls, *lienzo* (arena), a small trailer, and horse training equipment are on about two acres in the middle of the property. The remaining area of open land is used for parking and for training and exercising horses.

The California Charro Association promotes and maintains the tradition of the *charriada* in Mexicano/Chicano communities throughout California. The organization is composed of charro associations from San Jose, Vallejo, Stockton, Sunol, Los Angeles, Sacramento, and Dixon. The Asociacion de Charros Camperos del Valle in Sunol is one of the larger and more active groups in the state. It is included in this survey as representative of the charro tradition in California.

The varied tradition of charros and charriadas is deeply rooted in the history and culture of California, Mexico, and Latin America. In these regions, where ranching developed as the primary economy and where horses and skilled horsemanship were essential for survival, people developed a tradition that celebrates life and death as well as the unity of man and beast. A skilled horseman is a *charro*. A *charriada* is a competition of skilled horsemen, in which members of different associations meet to re-enact and celebrate humanity's never-ending struggle with life, and thus, with death. Each feat or part of the competition has particular significance, and requires particular skills, dexterity, balance, courage, and knowledge. The tradition involves a ritual that re-affirms and celebrates our common human struggle. It is, in essence, an art form.

The charro tradition is most highly developed in Mexico. It is the Mexican variant that charro associations practice in California. Each group has its own *lienzo* (arena) where performances are held during the season, which runs from early May to mid-October. During the season, competitions are held with nearby charro groups. The statewide Congreso, where all groups compete and the winner becomes State Champion, is usually held in Los Angeles.

In California and most of the Southwest, charro organizations have existed throughout the twentieth century. Their existence, however, has largely been contingent on the economic conditions of the Mexicano/Chicano community, because money and land are required for mounts, a *lienzo*, stables, and other facilities. Thus, although charro groups have existed since the early twentieth century, they have become most economically viable since the early post-World War II period. The statewide competition dates from this latter period.

The earlier tradition of skilled horsemanship that evolved in California and the Southwest before American occupation, and that subsequently evolved into the North American rodeo, was less formal than the Mexican tradition. While it contained the same essential characteristics as the *charriada*, it had not developed into an art form by the time of the American conquest. This earlier form, the rodeo, which is now an integral part of American western culture, also originated with the ranching economy and culture of California and the Southwest. Development of cattle ranching and the cattle industry in the American West rests squarely on the foundations laid during the Spanish/Mexican period. Thus, the origins of both the charro and the American rodeo tradition are in the Hispanic world.

Charriadas are well-attended throughout California. They begin in the early afternoon with presentation of the association or associations, move on to the



performance or competition, and end with a dance for the entire community in the evening. Each part of the program is accompanied by music. Food, of course, is very much part of the day. Members of the Mexicano/Chicano community attend charriadas in large numbers. The lienzo at Sunol, which has a seating capacity of several hundred, is usually full during the season.

Martinez House

Oakland, Alameda County

The Martinez House in the City of Oakland is a two-story structure, built almost entirely of redwood in the Craftsman architectural style. Major alterations completed in 1951 included remodeling the upstairs by converting the sleeping porch into a small kitchen, and adding a half-bath and an alcove for dining. A larger window replaced the small window on the western side of the original studio area. Downstairs, the old kitchen was eliminated, a larger bedroom was constructed, and a carport was added.

Xavier Timoteo Martinez, Mexican-born painter, poet, philosopher, and art instructor at the College of Arts and Crafts in Oakland from 1908 to 1942, was a pivotal member of California's art community from the last decade of the nineteenth century until his death in 1943 at the age of 71. Born in Guadalajara, Mexico in 1869, of mestizo origins and a middle-class social background, Martinez counted among his teachers, colleagues, and intimate friends some of the most influential contemporary artists, literary figures, and social critics of the United States, Mexico, and Europe. His studio and home in the Oakland hills, replete with momentos and personal tributes, reveals his relationship with Cezanne, Whistler, George Sterling, Herman Whittaker, Maynard Dixon, Diego Rivera, Jose Clemente Orozco, and Jack London, among others.

Built on a lot given to him in exchange for a painting, his studio and home was designed by Frederick Meyer, founder of the California College of Arts and Crafts. It was built by Henry C. (Booster) Smith, with the help of Jack London, Henry Whittaker, Martinez himself, and others -- while all imbibed great quantities of red wine. To Martinez's "open house," held every Sunday, came many of the artistic and literary greats of the early twentieth century, along with students and other-friends, to eat, drink, and discuss current trends in art, literature, and politics. Martinez's centrality in the San Francisco Bay Area's early twentieth-century "Bohemian scene" is well documented. His centrality to development of art in twentieth-century California was officially recognized at the time of his death in 1943, when in respect for his achievements,

the 55th California State Legislature then in session called an adjournment. Martinez is the only painter to whom the legislature has accorded this tribute.

Though basically European in artistic training and ideology, Martinez was one of the very few artists and intellectuals of his generation and circle in California who were neither Anglo North American nor European by birth or cultural heritage. While his work reveals full acceptance of European artistic traditions, his post-1913 paintings, as well as his personal life, reflect a tension and conflict between his non-Anglo, non-European mestizo Mexican origins and the Anglo-European life he lived in Europe and California.

This conflict appears to have originated when he arrived in San Francisco to study art at the California School of Design. Martinez's talent and his aesthetic sensibilities appear to have been dismissed by his instructors, particularly Arnold Mathews, the school's director, who was convinced that he was totally untalented. Mathews counseled Mrs. de Coney, wife of the Mexican Consul and Martinez's foster mother, as well as his sponsor at the School of Design, to send him elsewhere, where he " . . . might learn to be fit to paint carriages." That Martinez spoke Spanish and French, but no English, and that he and the instructors could not communicate verbally, was the basis for Mathews' conviction that Martinez was untalented. After his first year at the School of Design, Mathews advised Martinez to drop out of the school. Mrs. de Coney, however, insisted that he be given another year of instruction.

The impact on Martinez of this rejection of his language and his aesthetic sensibilities is difficult to assess. According to his daughter, Micaela Martinez Ducasse, Martinez never spoke Spanish at home and did not teach her Spanish. He was, however, fiercely proud of his Mexican heritage. Micaela Ducasse recalled her mother saying that "Marty," as he was called, seemed to keep his language and heritage to himself. It was a part of himself he did not share with anyone, including his Canadian-born, American-raised English wife, Elsie.

Martinez's experiences in Paris and in Europe also seem to have been a source of conflict. There, though he was not rejected, he was apparently considered exotic and romantic because of his background. He was called "the Duke," and was seen as a Mexican hidalgo. Historically, Mexican hidalgismo is associated with Spain and Europe, not with Mexico's Indian or mestizo socio-cultural values. Thus, while his Mexican heritage was ostensibly more accepted in Europe than in the United States, it was the European side of his Mexican heritage that found acceptance. His mestizo-Indian heritage was ignored or rejected. Yet

it was precisely that mestizo-Indian heritage with which he increasingly identified after 1913.

In 1913, Martinez spent the summer in Arizona, mainly on the Hopi Reservation, painting and sketching the region and its people. He developed close friendships with the Hopi, particularly with Henry Shulpa, who shared with him the religious rites of the Hopi Snake Dance. The summer on the Hopi Reservation had a tremendous impact on Martinez, most visibly in his work. According to George Neubert, "His paintings from this period are a departure in style, coloration, and attitude. His palette brightened radically, reflecting the intense colors and changing moods of the desert at different times of the day."

The two months on the reservation appear to have been a turning point in Martinez's life -- the beginning, perhaps, of reconciling his personal conflicts and tensions. This time seems also to have been the beginning of a life of reflection, increasing solitude, and a turning inward. In 1923, Elsie and Xavier Martinez separated, but he continued the Sunday "open house" with her help. Martinez, however, significantly decreased his involvement in other social activities, spending most of the time alone when he was not teaching. Martinez devoted the last 20 years of his life to teaching and writing poetry and philosophic commentaries. His literary work was published under a column entitled "Notas de un Chichimeca," in the *Hispano-Americano*, San Francisco's Spanish-language newspaper. Martinez died at Carmel, California, January 13, 1943.

Martinez's historical and artistic significance to the Latino community is obvious, though he is not well known within that community. Much less obvious,

but no less significant than his artistic importance, are the socio-cultural conflicts he experienced.

Those dilemmas were rooted in being Mexican in a community where Mexican-ness was either rejected or exoticized, but accepted in neither case. The focus on this aspect of Martinez's life and work is not intended to present a psychological profile of this artist, but to acknowledge the existence of these conflicts and to argue that they affected his life and work. It is a dimension that is notably absent from most descriptions of this influential artist. Yet they were part of the human subsoil from which he painted and related to others and to himself.

His early years in San Francisco and in Europe were to some extent a denial of his Mexican self. This was a period in which he developed a painting style in the European tradition and shared that tradition and a Bohemian life with European and North American artists to the exclusion of Mexican aesthetic and cultural traditions and sensibilities. His later years of reflection, solitude, and writing were shared with San Francisco's Spanish-speaking community through poetry and other writings published in the *Hispano-Americano*.

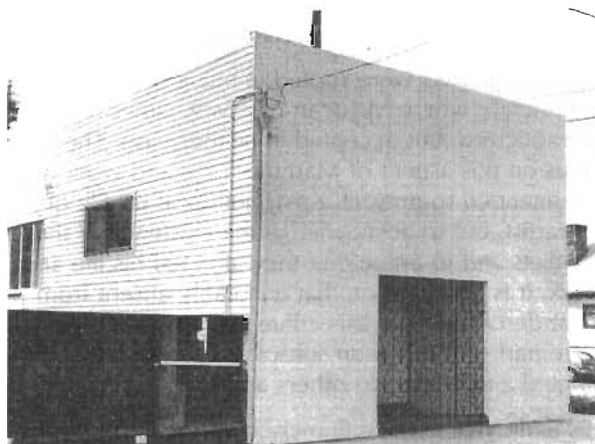
That community, however, did not know his work in the visual arts. Until very recently, Chicanos and Latinos had neither input nor access into California's elite art community, nor the economic means to attend exhibits or buy paintings. Corollary to this, of course, is the fact that with the exception of Martinez and a few others, the Chicano/Latino community saw little reflection of themselves, their experience, or their aesthetic sensibilities in the state's artistic and cultural domain.



Xavier Timoteo Martinez,
Alameda County, [circa 1920]



Martinez House in Oakland, Alameda County, [circa 1914]



Sociedad Catolica Regional Guadalupana (Guadalupana Hall)

Richmond, Contra Costa County

The Sociedad Catolica Regional Guadalupana in Richmond, Contra Costa County, is a wood-frame building with a composition roof and a stucco-covered front. The back section has two stories. A meeting hall occupies the entire first floor of the front section, while a kitchen, restroom, and bar are located on the first floor of the back section. The second story houses the society's executive offices. There is a small maintenance shed on the back portion of the lot. A wooden fence encloses the sides and back of the lot.

Historically, Catholicism has been a central institutional force in California's Spanish-speaking communities. The chain of missions and numerous adobe chapels constructed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as part of the settlement of California attests to the significance of Catholicism to Spain's conquest of this region. That the conquest was effected from Mexico and that the colonizers were largely mestizo, however, etched a particular design on the Catholicism that took root in California and the Southwest. Further, the continuous waves of Mexican immigration throughout the twentieth century have served to strengthen the particular design of Mexican Catholicism in Chicano communities throughout California.

Mexican Catholicism revolves around the figure of La Virgen de Guadalupe, also known as the dark-skinned Madonna, the Patroness of Mexico, and the Patron Saint of the Poor. Because she appeared to an impoverished Mexican Indian man, she is considered to be the special protector of Mexico, a

nation of Indios and Mestizos, and thus of impoverished, dark-skinned people.

According to Church history, La Virgen de Guadalupe appeared to Juan Diego one cold December 12 in 1531 on the crest of the Hill of Tepeyac, as he walked to town to get a doctor for his ailing elderly uncle. She commanded Juan Diego to go to the bishop and inform him that the Queen of Heaven wanted a church built in her honor at Tepeyac. As proof of her existence, Juan Diego was to pick and take a bouquet of beautiful red roses to the bishop. Roses did not grow on this barren hill, nor did they grow in December, but Juan Diego located the roses where she indicated they would be. He picked them, wrapped them in his *tilma* (fiber weave cloak), and went to see the Bishop Zumarraga. At his audience with Zumarraga, Juan Diego opened his tilma to deliver the roses. As he did so and the roses tumbled out of his cloak, those present at the audience saw the figure of his apparition beautifully etched in his tilma. The figure was that of a small, dark-skinned woman with an oval face. The roses and the painting of the Virgen on the cloak convinced the bishop and other Church authorities that the apparition was genuine. They proceeded to build the Basilica, dedicated to the dark-skinned Madonna, La Virgen de Guadalupe, and to celebrate December 12 as her feast day.

The Virgen appeared and the Basilica was constructed on the crest of the Hill of Tepeyac. Before the Spanish conquest, the crest of Tepeyac was the site of a temple dedicated to Tonantzin, an indigenous female deity, mother of the earth.

For Mexicanos, then, La Virgen de Guadalupe affirms their origins and their national identity, in addition to providing spiritual and religious succor. In California, as well as in Chicano communities throughout the United States, Mexicano/Chicano parishioners formed Sociedades Guadalupanas to observe her feast day in the parish and in the community. El Día de la Virgen de Guadalupe contains both religious and secular elements. The community celebrates a Mass in her honor, and continues with a fiesta that reaffirms Mexicano linguistic, cultural, and social traditions. The Sociedades often present a statue of the Virgen to their local parishes, and help with the work in the parishes. In addition, members of the Sociedades perform community work. They visit the sick and the elderly, help the needy, and provide other social services in the Mexican/Chicano community.

The Sociedad Regional Guadalupana, Inc. de San Pablo is a particularly fine example of the Sociedades Guadalupanas established in California in the early twentieth century. This sociedad was founded in San Pablo by the Reverend Jose P. Porta,

who called a meeting after Mass December 12, 1923. At a second meeting held in January 1924, those attending agreed to organize a sociedad, pay dues, and observe a special funeral Mass for members on their deaths. The sociedad, which was formally organized on June 29, 1924, had 80 members, and established branches in San Pedro, Richmond, Berkeley, Crockett, and Oakland. The Richmond Sociedad was the second branch to be established. Subsequently, members agreed to pay a dollar per year per member to defray funeral expenses for the families of members who died. Thus, the sociedad extended its functions from the purely religious, and took on the functions of a mutual benefit society (*mutualista*). Those functions have increased. This sociedad is also significant because unlike most Sociedades Guadalupanas, which are exclusively women's organizations, it is composed of both men and women. In 1974, on celebrating its fiftieth anniversary, the Sociedad Catolica Regional Guadalupeana, Inc. counted 800 active members.

Since its founding, the Sociedad Guadalupeana has been indispensable to the community's religious and social life. The sociedad is involved in a series of year-round activities that culminate in the religious celebration of El Día de la Virgen de Guadalupe. The sociedad sponsors fiestas, *jamaicas* (bazaars), and other activities that provide form, definition, and cohesion to the Mexican/Chicano community. They have been doing so for more than 50 years, yet their centrality to the community has gone largely unnoticed by the general public.

Cerro Gordo

Cerro Gordo, Inyo County

Cerro Gordo is an abandoned mining town in central Inyo County. It consists of a number of wooden buildings, the most imposing of which is the two-story American Hotel, once the center of town. Numerous stone foundations indicate the extensive size of the mining operation. Diagonally across the road from the American Hotel, rock retaining walls and a stone chimney mark the ruins of Victor Beaudry's smelter. Relics of Beaudry's store, the house where the mine owners lived, a well-preserved stone reverberatory furnace near the caved-in portal of the Omega Tunnel, and the shafthouse of the Newtown Mine can all be clearly identified. Metal sheds and other ruins date from the zinc mining era of the early twentieth century. Inside the buildings, machinery and equipment remain in good condition. Tunnels and shafts extend for miles beneath the town.

Ore cars once transported silver, lead, and zinc by rail to the tramhouse. Although the tramhouse was removed in 1959, the rails and some of the wooden towers that defined the course of the tramway can still be seen down the mountain, as well as steel cables and ore buckets. Mexican *vasos* (furnaces) made from adobe and stone can be found a half mile south of Cerro Gordo.

Considering that Mexico has led the world in silver production since the sixteenth century, it is hardly surprising that Mexican miners played a pivotal role in development of silver mining in the American West.

Cerro Gordo was discovered by Pablo Flores and other Mexican prospectors in 1865. The names of the principal mines attest to the early importance of these Mexican miners: San Felipe, San Ignacio, San Francisco, San Lucas, and Santa Maria. During the area's first few years of mining activity, the mines were worked on a small scale by individual miners. Large amounts of silver were extracted, though the Mexican prospectors lacked sufficient capital to mine the deeper deposits. For example, Jose Ochoa took out about one and one-half tons of ore every 12 hours from the San Lucas mine in 1866. The ores mined at Cerro Gordo were successfully smelted in "vasos," crude ovens built from stone and adobe.

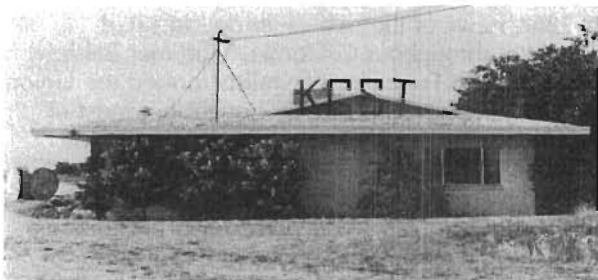
By 1868, news of the rich silver deposits had circulated throughout California. Mortimer Belshaw and other San Francisco capitalists formed the Union Mining Company and quickly bought out most of the Mexican claim holders. Joaquin Almada, for example, exchanged his title for one-fifth ownership in the new smelter built by Belshaw. Not long after, Belshaw bought Almada's interest and became one of the two "kings of the mountain." The other mogul was Victor Beaudry, another San Francisco merchant who had established a store at Cerro Gordo in 1866. Through attachments for overdue accounts, Beaudry also acquired extensive mining property from Mexican prospectors. Jose Ochoa was one of many who lost their valuable claims to Beaudry. Another victim was Jesus Lozano, whose general store was absorbed by Beaudry. Mexicans continued to be important at Cerro Gordo after 1870, but only as the principal source of wage labor. They continued as workers until the demise of Cerro Gordo in the 1950s.

With a vast amount of capital on hand, Belshaw and Beaudry were able to construct two large smelters by 1870. The following year, the mining town of Cerro Gordo was officially established. It thrived for a decade while the level of silver production reached \$4,000 a day. The American Hotel emerged as the most luxurious structure in town, as well as the focal point of the prosperous community.

Several saloons and two houses of prostitution flourished during this opulent era.

The silver bullion from Cerro Gordo had a great impact on development of California. Indeed, if the Comstock Lode was largely responsible for the financial triumph of San Francisco, Cerro Gordo's ore secured the emergence of Los Angeles. The latter city supplied miners at Cerro Gordo in the same way Sacramento catered to Gold Rush argonauts in 1849. More than 100 twenty-mule team wagons carried goods from Los Angeles to Cerro Gordo in the 1870s. In return, Los Angeles received 200 tons of silver and lead every month during the same decade.

From 1880 to 1911, Cerro Gordo suffered a decline in mineral production. Between 1911 and 1915, however, the discovery of zinc ores resulted in a new boom. Cerro Gordo became the leading producer of zinc in the state. After World War I, the district continued to account for a large portion of California's silver, lead, and zinc output. The mines at Cerro Gordo finally ceased operation in the 1950s. In all, the district is credited with more than \$15,000,000 in ore production since 1865, more than any other silver- or lead-producing area in California.



KGST Radio Station

Fresno, Fresno County

KGST in Fresno was the first Spanish-language radio station in the San Joaquin Valley, and one of the earliest stations in California to provide Spanish-language programs all day, every day. Established in 1949, KGST remained an anomaly among California radio stations until the 1960s. Other stations either broadcast exclusively in English, or offered Spanish-language programming on what is known as a "sustaining time" basis, that is during time slots (usually early in the morning) refused by most advertisers because of the small listening audience.

San Diego did not have Spanish-language radio stations in the city for many years. The area's proximity to Mexico enabled United States advertisers to reach San Diego's Spanish-speaking audience

by purchasing time on locally owned Mexican stations. In contrast, Fresno was an ideal location for establishment of a Spanish-language radio station. With a high concentration of Mexicans and Chicanos who could only tune in to Mexican stations at night when the airwaves were less crowded, Fresno and the surrounding areas offered a potentially large radio audience.

Founded by Juan Mercado, Station KGST was not only the first Spanish-language radio station in the valley, but one of the earliest Chicano-owned Spanish-language radio stations in California. Indeed, most Chicano-owned Spanish-language stations in the state did not appear until the 1960s. Although Mercado subsequently sold his station to an Anglo, KGST has continued to broadcast in Spanish and to hire Spanish-speaking personnel. The current General Manager is Benjamin Gutierrez, and the News Director is Estelleta Vasquez Romo, both of whom have been employed by the station since its inception in 1949.

Although the station, which is still at its original location, has been broadcasting only from 5:45 a.m. to 8:15 p.m. every day, including Sundays, the station's popularity and expanded audience now seems to justify a 24-hour broadcasting day. The programming, transmitted by 5000 watts of power, includes music, news, and religious services.

Spanish-language stations such as Fresno's KGST have played an important part in cultural maintenance among California's Chicano and Mexican inhabitants. News programs not only supply information to those who are not bilingual, but provide a more detailed analysis of events in Mexico and throughout Latin America than is available either on English-language stations or in English-language newspapers. And since more people listen to the radio than read the newspaper, regardless of whether the latter are in English or Spanish, Spanish-language radio stations are a major source of information for many Californians. Locally, such stations offer traditional public service announcements, as well as information on the availability of jobs in the listening area, including the locations and types of work and the qualifications required. Music from Mexico, as well as that produced by Chicano groups in the United States, is popular and reinforces cultural pride in the Chicano and Mexican community. Finally, by providing employment and training for Spanish-speaking individuals, Spanish-language radio stations have helped to further the creation of a Chicano middle class and permit advancement in areas such as broadcasting that were formerly closed to Chicanos.



Forty Acres

Delano, Kern County

Located in northern Kern County, Forty Acres, purchased by the United Farm Workers' Union in 1966, contains four structures: an administration center, first built and dedicated to Roy Reuther in 1969; a garage, built in memory of Mrs. Zapa; a health clinic, dedicated to the memory of Rodrigo Terrones; and Agbayani Village, a retirement home for Filipino farmworkers dedicated to Paulo Agbayani, who died on the picket line in 1966. The four brick and stucco structures were constructed between 1969 and 1974 with volunteer labor. The clinic and village are all brick with tile roofs, and the administration center is brick with an aluminum roof. Before purchase by the UFW, Forty Acres was vacant alkali land.

The United Farm Workers' Union's 40 acres of land and the four buildings designed and constructed with volunteer labor on this acreage represent a historic, victorious culmination of farmworkers' efforts to establish their own union. Earlier attempts to organize farm laborers were thwarted by organized opposition of agribusiness interests, by repression, and by exclusion of agricultural laborers from the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, which gave all other American workers the right to organize and to conduct collective bargaining. Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers' Organizing Committee (later the UFWA then the UFW, AFL-CIO), who began organizing farm laborers in the 1960s, met with unprecedented success. Not only did they organize a national labor union of farmworkers, they are also largely responsible for passage of the first agricultural labor relations act in the history of the United States. The ALRA, enacted in California in 1975, gave farm laborers the right to organize and bargain collectively, and other protections that non-agricultural workers have had since 1935. The UFW, then, is a historic, precedent-setting organization.

Located in Delano, Forty Acres is further historically significant because Delano was the original site of

the 1965 grape strike that led to the UFWOC's joining with striking Filipino workers to form the UFWA, and to the union's organizing a national boycott of table grapes. For five years, the Delano strike and grape boycott was the testing ground for the new farmworkers' union. The historic first contracts were signed with a farmworkers' union that was organized, led, and directed by farmworkers. These contracts were signed in 1970.

Also significant about Forty Acres is the fact that the buildings were constructed by farmworkers themselves, along with help from other unions and other volunteer labor. The Paulo Agbayani Retirement Village, the largest building at Forty Acres, is particularly important. It was built specifically for the benefit of retired Filipino farmworkers, most of whom came to California during the period of anti-Asian sentiment. These Filipino workers were not allowed to bring wives from the Philippines, and once on the mainland United States, they were confronted by anti-miscegenation statutes and were unable to marry.

Having left their youth and their strength in California's verdant valleys, these Filipino farmworkers were nevertheless ineligible for Social Security benefits until the early 1970s because farm laborers were not covered. They had no family on the mainland to care for them and little to keep them from destitution. The Paulo Agbayani Village is now home for more than 70 single Filipino men.

In essence, Forty Acres is a visible manifestation of the campesinos' struggle to organize their own union, to bargain collectively, to labor with dignity, to receive benefits (including Social Security and health care), and to determine their own destiny. It is a site of primary importance in California's farm labor history.

Anjac Fashion Building

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County

The Anjac Fashion Building in the City of Los Angeles is an 11-story, brick-front structure with cement sides. The front of the building, facing Broadway, has a series of windows and a fire escape on each story. The fire escapes also front on Broadway. The top story has detail work that appears to be Gothic in design.

The Anjac Fashion Building is next to the United Artists Building on one of downtown Los Angeles' major streets. In the heart of the city's original garment district, this building is still in use as a clothing manufacturing and needle trades industry center.

On October 12, 1933, dressmakers in Los Angeles' garment district went on strike. Lasting three weeks, the strike affected approximately 2,000 female workers and 80 manufacturing establishments. An overwhelming majority of the workers in the dressmaking industry, 75 percent, were Mexican women and girls. The vast majority of strikers were Mexicans. Their participation and the major roles they took in the strike is clear evidence that Chicanas can be organized in their work, and have, in fact, played a significant role in Chicano labor history.

In view of the fact that Los Angeles was, and remains today, an important center of the Mexican working-class population, and that Mexicana workers are still the major work force in the garment and needle trades industry, the garment strike of 1933 should be commemorated. Working conditions that strikers protested against in 1933 have not changed dramatically in the garment industry since that time. Recent Latina and Asian immigrants suffer many of the same degrading and humiliating sweatshop conditions their sisters struck against in 1933: no control of hours and wages, exploitative piecework rates, and no place to go for redress of grievances for fear of being fired or deported.

The 1933 strike by female garment workers, members of the newly established Los Angeles Chapter of the I.L.G.W.U. (International Ladies Garment Workers' Union), was unprecedented in many ways. Los Angeles was, and prided itself in being, an open shop, anti-union town. City government and authorities and the press had historically favored business interests in Los Angeles. Rated as a \$3 million business and one of Los Angeles' most rapidly growing industries, particularly during the Depression, the garment industry was an important

employer in a period of massive unemployment. As one of the larger centers of women's apparel in the United States, the industry employed an estimated 7,500 persons at the height of the season. Thus, neither industry, labor, nor public officials expected a strike in an industry that was providing jobs in a depression. Most particularly, they did not expect a strike in an industry where most of the workers were women, and Mexican women at that.

The garment industry's growth at the height of the Depression, however, was in part a function of the industry's severe exploitation of its female labor force. The companies' profits were made at the expense of the labor force, and the industry minimized its labor costs. The industry's workers labored in unsafe, unsanitary, poorly ventilated, congested, and crowded work places. Garment manufacturers flagrantly disregarded California's minimum wage law of \$16.00 per week for women, and companies often falsified records of hours the dressmakers worked. Dressmakers received payment only for the hours in which a garment was actually being cut, sewn, or finished. In the words of Maria Flores, one Mexicana garment worker, the process was as follows:

I come in the morning, punch my card, work for an hour, punch the card again. I wait for two hours, get another bundle, punch card, finish bundle, punch card again. Then I wait some more—the whole day that way. (Clementina Duron, "The Dressmakers' Strike. Los Angeles, 1933," p. 5)

In addition to the system described by Maria Flores, which resulted in an almost unintelligible time sheet that nevertheless had to be turned in before workers got paid, certain manufacturers used "kickbacks" to maintain low labor costs. Under this system, workers received the minimum wage, but were required to "kick back" part of the money to the employer.

Finally, the "open-door system" prevailed in manufacturing where shops of the same industry were housed in one building. In such situations,

women were given "the freedom of the building" when seeking employment. That is, dressmakers took the elevator to the top floor of a building housing a number of garment businesses. If no work was available at this shop, they would use the staircase to walk down to the next floor and repeat the activity . . . until, if lucky, they found a few days' employment for the price offered." (Duron, "The Dressmakers' Strike," p. 6)

The Anjac Fashion Building, one of the major buildings struck in 1933, housed several garment businesses. In addition, when there was a rush



order, factory owners hung out "Help Wanted" signs. This brought in numerous workers who quickly completed the order and were just as quickly laid off.

Until 1933, factory owners effectively staved off unionization. Workers who attempted to organize for self-protection were immediately fired. Those who fought were blacklisted. Despite hostility to labor unions and an anti-picketing ordinance passed by the City of Los Angeles in 1911, growing unrest among dressmakers led to an organizing drive by the I.L.G.W.U. in the spring of 1933.

At that time, an estimated 3,000 persons worked in the 150 to 185 dress factories located in the downtown garment district. About 75 percent were Mexican, and the rest Italian, Russian, Jewish, and American-born women and girls.

Under the leadership of Rose Pesotta, a Russian Jewish garment worker, Los Angeles dress workers received an I.L.G.W.U. charter from the international union and an advance allowance of \$250 for organizational expenses from David Dubinsky, the international's president. Pesotta and Chicana garment workers began organizing in the factories and communities. They went to Mexican barrios in the outskirts of the city to talk with workers in their homes. They reached the Chicano population through Spanish-language programming on radio station KELW, which was operated by a local Mexican cultural society. The organizers wrote and distributed literature in both English and Spanish. *The Organizer*, a four-page, semi-weekly newspaper, was bilingual. Leaflets were addressed to workers in specific shops, and as the number of Mexicanas joining the union increased, Chicanas addressed union meetings in Spanish.

The largest meeting of dressmakers in Los Angeles took place at Walker's Orange Grove Theater September 27, 1933. At this meeting, workers discussed their grievances at length. They voted to strike if employers failed to recognize the union and refused to grant a series of nine demands:

1. Union recognition
2. A 35-hour week
3. A guaranteed minimum wage
4. Six legal holidays per year
5. Regular union hours to be observed in all shops
6. A regular shop chairman and price committee elected by the workers of each shop
7. No home work
8. The time clock to be punched only when entering and leaving the shop
9. Disputes in the shop to be adjusted by a duly appointed committee with representatives of the union and the employer

The union sent the demands to the manufacturers, along with a letter requesting that the employers meet with I.L.G.W.U. representatives.

When the employers did not respond to the union's letter, the union asked the N.R.A. (National Recovery Administration) to mediate. In the meetings that followed, the employers refused to recognize the union and rejected the workers' demand, with the exception of those regarding minimum wages and work hours. In this case, employers indicated a willingness to comply with the N.R.A. code covering hours and wages. The workers, for whom the major issue was union recognition and the right to organize for self-protection, voted to strike. A strike call was issued, and on October 12, 1933, the first major strike in the Los Angeles garment industry began.

The garment workers' strike lasted three weeks. It affected the entire garment district. In addition to the workers, the union, and the employers, it involved people from various sectors of the Los Angeles community. Police were called in by the employers; local grocers, butchers, and bakers donated food to the strikers; and local clergy also offered food and mediation efforts. The National Labor Relations Board was called in to resolve the labor dispute.

The strike involved police violence, intimidation of strikers, and strikers' retaliation against scabs. The press provided extensive coverage. *La Opinion*, California's major Spanish-language newspaper, covered it in greatest detail, because most of the striking workers were Mexicanas. The garment



industry was effectively paralyzed for several days when hundreds of picketing strikers clashed with non-strikers and police.

On October 24, Norman Thomas, a leading socialist, spoke to about 1,200 strikers. On the 25th, one manufacturer, David Haister, broke with the other employers and signed with the union. Haister was soon followed by another manufacturer. On October 26, the fifteenth day of the strike, both sides agreed to "arbitrate without reservation." An appointed arbitration board then held a series of meetings, hearings, and mediation sessions. On November 6, the twenty-sixth day of the strike, the arbitration board submitted its decision to the strikers at a mass meeting. The decision declared that the strike was to be called off; workers could return to work without penalty; wages and working hours would comply with the new N.R.A. code; collective bargaining was provided for; and no home work or child labor would be allowed. The workers voted to accept the board's decision.

Thus ended the garment workers' strike of 1933. In her book, *Bread Upon the Waters*, Rose Pesotta credits the Mexicana garment workers for the longevity, the vitality, and the success of the strike. They were the major part of the workers in the garment industry and the majority of the strikers. Their gains in the strike, however, were minimal.

By the 1940s, non-union factories were competing with the few union shops that were left by working longer hours and paying less than minimum union wage. The composition of the labor force had also changed. Mexican women no longer dominated the garment industry which relied instead on recent migrant families, poor Whites, Blacks, and others. In the 1960s, however, the composition of the industry's labor force again began to include an increasing number of Mexicanas and Latinas. Workers in dressmaking are now largely Spanish-surnamed and Asian women.

The 1933 garment workers' strike dispels the idea that women workers, and particularly Hispanic women workers, are meek, docile, and unorganizable. The striking dressmakers challenged a major, growing industry in an open-shop town at the height of the Depression, and they won.

La Opinion Newspaper

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County

La Opinion is the only daily Spanish-language newspaper in California, and the only Spanish-language paper that has published continuously since September 16, 1926, when it was founded by Ignacio Lozano, Sr. *La Opinion* since then has been



not only the major Spanish-language newspaper in California but also the most consistent.

With a daily circulation of 45,000, *La Opinion* has provided Spanish-speaking people in California and the rest of the United States with national and international news and analysis. Since its founding, *La Opinion* has had a strong focus on news from the Spanish-speaking world, and has also provided Spanish-speaking journalists and other writers who have come to the United States as refugees with a forum for their opinions and analysis. Among such writers have been Jose Vasconcelos, Nemecio Garcia Naranjo, and Victor Valdecio Robles.

Tracing its journalistic roots to 1913 when Mr. Lozano, Sr. founded *La Prensa* in San Antonio, Texas, *La Opinion* is currently owned and published by Ignacio E. Lozano, Jr. Though politically unaligned and more moderate in tone than either *El Clamor Publico* or *Regeneracion*, its predecessors in Los Angeles, *La Opinion* continues the tradition among the Spanish-language press of defending Mexicanos and other Spanish-speaking people. Its news coverage and editorials during the deportations and repatriations of the 1930s and of the so-called zoot suit riots of the 1940s were among the few counters to the xenophobia, racism, and anti-Mexicanism blaring from the English-language press in Los Angeles and other areas of California and the United States. Circulated and read in Spanish-speaking communities across the country, *La Opinion* continues to serve in the best journalistic tradition of the Spanish-language press.

El Clamor Publico Site

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County

El Clamor Publico was the first Spanish-language newspaper in California after the American occupation. Founded in Los Angeles in 1855 by Francisco P. Ramirez, a 19-year-old printer and former Spanish editor of the *Los Angeles Star*, *El Clamor Publico* was the predecessor of today's Spanish-language press. It served as a singularly important cultural force in the Spanish-speaking community and as a defender of Mexican people.

Initially moderate in tone, campaigning for cooperative work between Anglos and Mexicans, this four-page weekly tabloid soon became an activist newspaper. A series of lynchings of Mexicanos by Anglo mobs led to blistering attacks in the editorial pages of *El Clamor Publico* against Anglo-American law and democracy as practiced in California. Criticizing the new government for failure to protect the rights of Mexicanos, *El Clamor Publico* called for united protest and action in the Mexican community against abuse at the hands of public officials.

With agents from Los Angeles to San Francisco, *El Clamor Publico* was distributed in Spanish-speaking communities throughout California. During its four years of publication, this newspaper was the main defender of the rights of Mexicanos and was also the major purveyor of Hispanic language and culture. Its pages were filled with the literary output of Spanish-speaking people in California and elsewhere. Carrying national, international, and local news, *El Clamor Publico* was a critical link with the rest of the Spanish-speaking world and was a crucial source of information about local, state, and national politics. In the contemporary period, *El Clamor Publico* is a major primary source for historians and other scholars writing about nineteenth-century California. Francisco P. Ramirez and *El Clamor Publico* richly merit historical recognition for their important contribution to the people and the state of California.

The original building housing the offices of *El Clamor Publico* has been razed. An abandoned brewery facility currently occupies the site adjacent to the San Bernardino Freeway in Los Angeles.

Regeneracion Site

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County

Regeneracion: Semanal Revolucionario is a particularly significant manifestation of the historical, political, linguistic, and cultural links between Mexicans in the United States and Mexico, and of the relationship between the governments of the two countries.

The official organ of the socialist-oriented "Partido Liberal Mexicano," *Regeneracion* was published in exile in Los Angeles from September 1910 to March 1918. Published by Ricardo Flores Magon and Anselmo Figueroa, two of the major figures of the Partido Liberal, *Regeneracion* was the major source of information and analysis in Spanish about the Mexican Revolution and also provided news about the rest of the Hispanic world. Distributed in Mexican communities throughout the United States, *Regeneracion* was further used in these communities as a text for literacy lessons; people had little access

to books printed in Spanish or money with which to buy those that were available. Passed around from friend to friend or family to family, this newspaper was read and re-read for the eight years of its life.

Directing their efforts toward fomenting political consciousness and solidarity between Mexican and other working classes, the Partido Liberal Mexicano had bases and working groups in Mexican communities throughout the Southwest. Composed of recent immigrants as well as of U.S. citizens of Mexican ancestry, these groups reflected an abiding identification with Mexico and its people, culture, and politics.

The fact that *Regeneracion* was socialist oriented and that its editorials and analysis of national and international news were highly critical of the governments of Mexico and the United States led to continued political persecution of the publishers. It also led to cooperation between the governments of the two countries and resulted in criminal charges being brought in the United States Federal Court against the Flores Magon brothers and other members of the Partido Liberal. Imprisoned in Leavenworth, Kansas, then in McNeil Island Federal Penitentiary, Washington, Ricardo Flores Magon died at McNeil shortly before he was to be released.

Regeneracion and its publishers represent an important contribution to journalism, to the Spanish-language press in California and the rest of the United States, and to Mexican communities during a particularly critical period of the Mexican Revolution.

The original offices of the *Regeneracion* no longer exist. The site of the offices along 4th Street in Los Angeles has been developed for a mercantile import/export business.

Plaza De la Raza/ Lincoln Park

Los Angeles, Los Angeles County

Plaza de la Raza is a complex of one-story stucco buildings organized around an open patio, adjoining the old Lincoln Park Boathouse. The units of this complex are designed with a modernistic architectural theme. Several of the buildings have low-pitched roofs with gable ends hidden by parapet walls. The old boathouse is built of brick. It is a utilitarian structure with low, arched walls and a tower with a pyramidal, red-tile roof. The boathouse is in virtually unaltered condition.

Lincoln Park, where Plaza de la Raza is located, has long been the recreational center of East Los Angeles. Owned originally by Dr. J. S. Griffin, the

land was purchased by the city in 1874 and was subsequently transferred to the Southern Pacific Railroad Company in return for establishment of railroad shops in East Los Angeles. The land reverted to the city when Southern Pacific failed to build the promised shops. The city then laid out a park, initially called East Los Angeles Park and then Eastlake Park, which quickly became a major amusement center for the people of Los Angeles. One of its main attractions was the area's first zoological display. In 1917, the site became known as Lincoln Park.

The Mexican American population of East Los Angeles, today more than 150,000 in number, has relied extensively on Lincoln Park as a recreation site. In 1970, moreover, Plaza de la Raza was incorporated, and officials secured a lease from the City of Los Angeles to operate the plaza in Lincoln Park for 25 years.

The incorporation of Plaza de la Raza was a pivotal point in the cultural history of the Chicano community in Los Angeles. Based on the concept of the town plaza around which the economic, social, political, and cultural life of people in Hispanic communities revolved, Plaza de la Raza was conceived as a cultural-educational center, to serve the Chicano/Latino community in Los Angeles by promoting Hispanic forms of artistic and cultural expression. Also significant to development of the plaza were the leadership and involvement of Chicano/Latino actors and actresses, business people, and others associated with film, communications, and miscellaneous other industries in Southern California. This is one of the identifiably ethnic endeavors the established Chicano/Latino middle and upper middle classes enthusiastically support and in which they have become intimately involved. In providing financial support and donating their talents and their time, members of the Chicano/Latino middle class are affirming and re-affirming their Chicano or Latino identity, which many had to deny or reject in order to achieve success in the racially discriminatory film and communications industries. Some of the people who have been central to the development and success of the plaza are members of NOSOTROS, the Chicano/Latino film actors organization.

With this community's expertise and assistance, as well as with funding from the Model Cities Program, the Los Angeles City Council, labor unions from Tijuana, the National Endowment for the Arts, and the Del Amo Foundation, Plaza de la Raza has implemented a myriad of vital cultural programs for the Chicano/Latino community and for the general public in Los Angeles. Focusing on the socio-cultural rather than the economic aspects of the traditional

community, Plaza de la Raza was planned and constructed as an instructional, performing, and exhibition center.

Immediately after the first stages of remodeling and new construction were completed in 1973, the plaza began classes in art, music, dance, creative writing, and drama for young and old alike. Also in 1973, in cooperation with the Los Angeles Unified School District, the plaza devised a cultural enrichment program to explore, examine, and teach Chicano/Latino history and culture through art forms. More than 300 school children attend these presentations each week. Drama, music, dance, art, and other forms of creative expression are also vital to the Head Start Program administered by plaza staff; the program has involved 21 classes for a combined total of 315 students in 10 different sites.

In addition to the creative and expressive arts program, the plaza offers instruction in communications and media including writers' workshops conducted by two television writers and a special class in comedy writing. Acting scholarships to the Lee Strasberg School of Drama are made available. The effort is to assist Chicanos and Latinos to develop skills and talents for employment and careers in the film and communications industry.

In its nine years of existence, Plaza de la Raza has indeed become the major Chicano/Latino cultural center in Los Angeles. Chicano/Latino musical groups and drama and dance companies perform to capacity audiences in weekly programs that also include fund-raisers for the plaza and other worthy causes. Receiving official endorsement from the City of Los Angeles as a Bicentennial Project, the plaza's efforts are directed toward ensuring perpetuation of the Chicano/Latino culture and bringing cross-cultural understanding to the larger community in Los Angeles.

Plaza de la Raza is a vital, exciting, creative force in the community. It is central to the cultural growth and development of the Chicano/Latino community, as well as the growth and development of the general public in Los Angeles.

Spreckels' "Little Tijuana"

Spreckels, Monterey County

"Little Tijuana" in the Salinas Valley of Monterey County no longer exists. The site is now the location of the Freeze General Construction Company. The site has two wooden structures and a large lumber yard area, all enclosed by a chain link fence. The entire town of Spreckels was originally owned by

Claus Spreckels, and the Spreckels sugar beet refinery is located across the road from the construction company.

When Claus Spreckels, the “Sugar King,” left Hawaii and established his sugar refinery in the Salinas Valley in 1899, he built the town of Spreckels as a planned community for his Anglo factory workers. Subsequently, Spreckels planned another residential area adjacent to the main town to provide housing for Mexican field worker families, some of whom were recruited from Colorado, while others were imported from Mexico. Spreckels’ proposed community for Mexicanos was never built. The small, neat homes and well-plotted streets remained in blueprint form, in the Spreckels’ archives.

The site of the proposed Mexican community, however, did become the Mexicano colonia at Spreckels, and came to be called Little Tijuana. While much research remains to be done on the colonia itself, the historical significance of the colonia and of Spreckels is that development of the sugar beet industry was the primary basis for migration of large numbers of Mexicanos into the Salinas Valley in the early twentieth century. The sugar beet industry in California was developed with contract Mexican family labor, and Monterey County was the earliest major testing ground of a large, agri-industrial complex using this type of labor system. The Monterey County experience with Mexican family contract labor became an important wage-labor model for twentieth century agribusiness in California. Further, at Spreckels, as in Ventura County, Mexican farm labor was brought in to replace Japanese farm workers, who also operated under a contract system but who had brought down the wrath of the growers by striking for higher

wages. In some cases, as in the Japanese-Mexican Labor Association, organized in Oxnard in 1903, Japanese and Mexican sugar beet workers joined forces, formed a union, and struck the beet growers. However, with the exclusion of Japanese immigration in 1907, Mexicanos became the major sugar beet workers, and subsequently the major farm labor force in California.

Westminster School/ Seventeenth Street School

Westminster, Orange County

Dedicated on September 6, 1935, the Westminster School in Orange County is a one-story complex, designed by J. E. Allison and constructed of stucco with a composition tile roof. The school building, which is now used as a community service center, is a landmark in the historic case of *Mendez v. Westminster*, which ended *de jure* school segregation of Mexicans in California’s public schools.

Separation of school children on the basis of race and nationality dated to an 1855 legislative decision that apportioned school funds on the basis of the number of White children, ages four to 18, in each county. As a result of this legislation, Blacks, Asians, and Indians were specifically denied admission to White schools by the 1860s. Although Blacks obtained the right to a “separate but equal” education during Reconstruction, and 20 years later, the right to send their children to mixed schools, Chinese and Indian children continued as late as 1945 (according to Section 8003 of the Education Code) to be specifically denied the right to attend such mixed schools, as long as separate schools



Westminster School/Seventeenth Street School, Orange County

were provided for their education. Ironically, however, the code did not mention the group most commonly segregated by 1945: children of Mexican descent.

Segregation of Mexican children in public schools had kept pace with Mexican migration, a migration stimulated since the end of the nineteenth century by the availability of work on the railroads, the Mexican Revolution of 1910, the shortage of laborers in the United States during World War I, and the curtailment of European immigration by restrictive legislation in the 1920s. Mexican immigration and Mexican American migration were actively encouraged not only by the railroads but by California agribusiness, which needed cheap labor to develop the Imperial and San Joaquin valleys and the citrus belt around Los Angeles. As a result, between 1920 and 1930, California's Mexican and Mexican American population tripled, making these people the state's largest minority group, a ranking they still maintain.

Their very numbers, however, as well as their concentration south of the Tehachapis (where more than 88 percent of Mexican and Mexican American students lived by 1930) encouraged segregated classrooms, if not segregated schools. Educational theories during the 1920s, which stressed "Americanization" programs with their emphasis on the exclusive use of English and glorification of American values and work habits, seemed more suitable to segregated classrooms. Social prejudice that viewed Mexicans as a threat to the health and morals of the rest of the community reinforced segregation, as did educational (I.Q.) testing, which seemed to show that students in segregated schools scored significantly higher on I.Q. tests than did students in mixed schools.

While Mexicano and Chicano parents were acutely aware of the discrimination their children suffered during these years, economic conditions during the Depression, including forced repatriation of both Mexicans and Mexican Americans, prevented cohesive opposition to the state's educational policy. By the mid-1940s, however, the situation had changed. Internally, the community could point to the contributions Mexicans and Mexican Americans had made to the war effort. And immediately following World War II, community organizations like the G.I. Forum and the Community Service Organization emerged. These groups, along with the previously established LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens), actively worked to end discrimination in the barrios. Segregated schools increasingly came under attack.

In Westminster, Orange County, Gonzalo Mendez and several other Mexican American parents

persuaded the school board to propose a bond issue for construction of a new, integrated school. After the bond issue was defeated, however, the school board refused to reconsider the matter. Having failed to convince local voters to abolish segregated schools, Mendez and six other plaintiffs sought legal redress.

Represented by David Marcus, a Los Angeles attorney whose services were obtained partly through the aid of LULAC, the plaintiffs sought desegregation of California's schools on the grounds that perpetuation of school admissions on the basis of race or nationality violated the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments of the national Constitution. Although the defense argued that a federal court had no jurisdiction in the case since educational policies were determined by individual states, and since the Supreme Court had determined earlier (in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896) that states might segregate races, provided that such separate facilities were equal, Judge McCormick ruled in favor of Mendez and his co-plaintiffs on February 18, 1946:

The key fact . . . was that California's Education Code did not specifically provide for segregation of children of Mexican origin. . . . And since California law did not allow for separate "Mexican" schools, the requirement that children attend such schools could be considered arbitrary action taken without "due process of law." (Charles Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed*, 1976, p. 127)

The defense immediately announced that it would appeal the decision, which attracted national attention. The American Civil Liberties Union, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Jewish Congress, and the Japanese American Citizens League filed briefs in support of McCormick's decision. Many hoped that the appellate court would strike down the "separate but equal" doctrine itself. Although the Court of Appeals refused to challenge the decision established in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the court did uphold McCormick's decision that segregation of Mexican and Mexican American children violated the Fourteenth Amendment.

While the "separate but equal" doctrine was to stand another seven years,

the Mendez decision did establish precedent for important cases in other states. In 1948 and 1950, federal district courts ruled that de jure segregation of Mexican-American school children was unconstitutional in Texas and Arizona respectively. And if Mendez v. Westminster could not be cited as direct precedent for the Brown v. Board of Education decision of 1954, in which the

Supreme Court did finally reverse the “separate but equal” doctrine, much of the social and educational theory expressed by Judge McCormick anticipated Earl Warren’s historic opinion in the Brown case. (Wollenberg, pp. 131-132)

Warren was certainly familiar with the *Mendez v. Westminster* case, which led to legislation to repeal Sections 8003 and 8004 of the Education Code, the last school segregation laws on California’s books. The Anderson Bill, as it was known, passed both the California Assembly and the Senate by a large majority and was signed into law by Governor Earl Warren on June 14, 1947.

In Orange County, school officials decided not to pursue their opposition to the case, and in September 1947, integrated schools opened in Westminster, Garden Grove, El Modeno, and Santa Ana, apparently with little trouble. School board members in Riverside, impressed by McCormick’s decision, voluntarily permitted the opening of integrated schools.

The *Mendez v. Westminster* case, however, applied only to *de jure* segregation, and not to the *de facto* segregation that created separate schools in large urban districts such as Los Angeles. Increasing urbanization of California’s Spanish-speaking population after 1947 was accompanied by greater *de facto* segregation. One UCLA historian and civil liberties activist concluded that two-thirds of the students of Mexican descent in Los Angeles attended substantially segregated schools, and statewide, more Mexican and Mexican American children probably attended segregated schools in 1973 than in 1947.

Despite such setbacks, the importance of *Mendez v. Westminster* remains clear. The case “stripped away the formal structure of legalized segregation and exposed the underlying conditions of racism and reaction that divide the American people and plague their consciences.” (Wollenberg, p. 135)

Casa Blanca School

Riverside, Riverside County

The Casa Blanca School in Riverside epitomizes the historical tradition of *de facto* segregated, separate, and unequal education of Chicano and other ethnic minority children in California. It also epitomizes the coordinated, successful struggle of ethnic minority communities to fight against racism and unequal education.

Born in the political, economic, and social conflicts between Mexicanos and Anglos in the post-Mexican-American War period, the policy and

tradition of racial segregation of Riverside schools continued until 1965. It was initiated in 1874, when newly arrived Anglos created the Trujillo School District to serve the residents of La Placita, thus isolating the Mexican community from Riverside. In 1906, the Riverside City School Board reaffirmed the 1874 decision by ruling that all children must attend school in the attendance district in which they lived.

This ruling was aimed at the growing number of Mexican immigrant families who were being imported to work as line crews on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad and the Southern Pacific Railroad. Mexican labor was also being recruited for the growing citrus industry, which had boomed in the 1880s and was quickly becoming the economic mainstay of the region. By the early twentieth century, Mexican labor replaced Chinese and Japanese labor, the earliest unskilled labor force brought into the Riverside area. In addition to working the citrus orchards, packing houses, and railroads, Mexican laborers worked in the nearby cement plants and rock quarries and on construction of the Salt Lake Bridge over the Santa Ana River.

Chicanos established themselves early in Casa Blanca. They bought small lots from growers who offered land at reasonable prices in an effort to retain a resident supply of cheap labor. Thus, some Chicanos owned their own land in an early period of the barrio’s history. They established social and labor organizations and opened small businesses in their community. In 1902, Chicanos founded a mutual benefit society, the Sociedad de la Vella Union de Trabajadores, and in 1907 organized the Superior de la Union Patriotica y Beneficia Mexicana, dedicated to aiding fellow Chicanos during hard times. In 1917, citrus workers struck for higher wages. The growers’ efforts to recruit other Mexicanos as strikebreakers failed, and the Riverside citrus workers won their strike.

While the Chicano colonia in Casa Blanca and the nearby Eastside areas grew, Riverside’s educational policies also grew more clearly entrenched in favor of racial segregation. By the early 1920s, when the Casa Blanca School was built, the community surrounding this facility was predominantly Mexican. Thus, Casa Blanca became a segregated Mexican school and remained so for the next 40 years, until 1965. In addition to *de facto* segregation and gerrymandering, the Riverside School District adopted the “poll-tax” tactic used in politics to tax education. That is, in view of the fact that citrus work was seasonal and that most children migrated with their families, the school district assessed a fee of \$8.00 per semester per migrant child for the privilege of attending Riverside High School. The fee for attending elementary school was \$4.00 per

semester. In Riverside, neither voting nor public education were accessible to most migrant Mexican families.

In 1924, Mabra Madden became principal of Casa Blanca School, where he remained for the next 40 years. During his tenure, the school became famous as more than an educational facility. It became a community social center, with Madden acting as dispenser of social service information and mediator with law enforcement and other public agencies. While Madden was helpful to the community on many fronts, people in the community, particularly in later years, resented what they considered to be a kind of benevolent patronship cultivated by the principal. Irrespective of one's view of Madden, segregation under his principalship meant second-class education for Chicano children. "Casa Blanca School pursued a policy of holding back at least one third of the Chicano students. They would spend two years in the first grade, two years in the second grade, etc. . . ." (Paul A. Viafora, *Riverside*, p. 29)

In 1965, the Riverside school system's historical policy of ethnic segregation ended. Riverside became the first city of its size in the nation to voluntarily and totally desegregate its elementary schools. The desegregation campaign of Riverside schools was developed by Eastside Blacks and Chicanos. While city government leaders viewed integration with slight support, some opposition, and considerable caution, circumstances prompted them to develop and implement plans for integration with Black and Chicano community groups. One circumstance included a petition with 300 signatures of Eastside residents calling for an end to segregation of the city's schools. The evening the petition was presented to the school board, less than three weeks after the Watts riots in Los Angeles, the Lowell School in Riverside went up in flames. Integration leaders pressed the issue, instituted a boycott of segregated schools, and began to organize freedom schools.

The school board acted with unprecedented haste. Working closely with Chicanos and Blacks, the board developed a plan for closing the city's three racially segregated schools and for total desegregation through busing of Riverside's elementary schools by 1967.

In 1972, the Diocese of San Diego bought the property and structure known as the Casa Blanca School. It is now used as a community social center. One portion of the structure is used as a boxing club. The Diocese plans to remodel the building, and to eventually establish a parochial school in Casa Blanca. The Chicano community has helped refurbish the building. The exterior of the structure has recently been painted. A local Chicano artist

placed two stained glass panels on the front of the school and also painted murals on the front and two sides of the building. The front mural is of La Virgen de Guadalupe, done in blue tile; the side murals are in acrylic. This same artist painted murals at the Ismael Villegas Community Center, just down the street from the school. Villegas, a native of Casa Blanca, was one of the few Californians to receive the Medal of Honor in World War II.

Dodson's Rooming House Site

Sacramento, Sacramento County

Dodson's Rooming House in Sacramento was Ernesto Galarza's first home in the United States when he and his mother arrived from Jalisco, Mexico, in 1913, to join his uncles, Gustavo and Jose Galarza. Within the environs of this rooming house and the surrounding community, and under the influence of the family who loved and disciplined him and the multi-ethnic people who befriended and taught him, Ernesto Galarza, future economist, educator, scholar, and activist, formed his first impressions of California and the United States. These first formative years, spent among working people, immigrant and nonimmigrant alike, Mexican, Italian, Asian, Black, and native-born Anglos, as well as his rural Mexican roots, would become the basis for Galarza's life-long commitment to education and social justice. "Little Ernie," as he was called, was seven years old when he moved to Dodson's Rooming House. The family lived there for four years. Galarza's youth in Sacramento is described in *Barrio Boy* (Ballantine, 1971), one of the few autobiographies by a Mexican American.

Among the Sacramentans who figured prominently in Galarza's educational formation was Miss Nettie Hopely, principal of Lincoln School, where Galarza received his first formal education in the United States. Galarza continued his education at Stanford University, where he completed a Master of Arts in Education, and at Columbia University, where he received a Ph.D. in economics. After completing his formal education in the 1930s, Galarza worked tirelessly to improve economic and social conditions for American workers.

A strong advocate of labor unions, he led early efforts to organize farmworkers in California agriculture. The history and politics of farm-labor organizing are skillfully narrated in his three exhaustively researched studies, *Merchants of Labor* (1964), *Spiders in the House and Workers in the Fields* (1967), and *Agribusiness in California* (1977).

Equally significant, Galarza's work as an inspiring teacher and educator is well known and highly respected in California. He taught at San Jose State University, was a visiting professor at U.C. San Diego (where he is a "life-long fellow"), and presented innumerable guest lectures at other universities, including Notre Dame, Stanford, and U.C. Berkeley. He was also the featured speaker at many conferences concerned with education and related issues. Professor Galarza served on numerous local, state, and national commissions and committees related to educational concerns. Of these, his work with the National Network of La Raza is probably the most important. Galarza's efforts on behalf of bilingual education are well known among educators and legislators. His *Mini-Libros* series, a collection of rhymes and poems which he composed, wrote, and published, is used in bilingual classrooms throughout the United States.

Often called the dean or statesman of Chicano scholarship, Galarza's significance as an educator, scholar, and social critic to the people of the state of California should be acknowledged. Dodson's Rooming House, Galarza's first home in California, has been demolished; the lot was paved and converted into a parking lot for a local financial institution in Sacramento.



South Colton

Colton, San Bernardino County

South Colton comprises 1.36 square miles of the City of Colton in San Bernardino County. Surrounded by railroad tracks, it includes the area east from Rancho to 12th streets, south to Foggy, and north to the San Bernardino Freeway. The houses are deteriorating; much of the small commercial section is closed; and the streets are in disrepair.

With a population of 3,350, 85 percent of whom are Mexicanos, South Colton's significance is that all of

the trends in Chicano working-class history are present in this small community. Threatened now by urban renewal and private development, South Colton is one of the very few barrios in California that offers the opportunity for preserving and maintaining the integrity of a community that clearly reflects the entire scope of Chicano history.

The town of Colton was created by promoters of the Southern Pacific Railroad who wanted to divert the traffic and prosperity synonymous with railroads away from the neighboring city of San Bernardino. These promoters intended to make Colton the railroad center of Southern California. The Chicano barrio, the southside of Colton, is also synonymous with railroads and with the Southern Pacific, which brought in Mexican labor in the 1890s to build, repair, and maintain the rail lines. Begun as a railroad labor camp adjacent to the railroad tracks, South Colton developed in the same way as many Chicano barrios and colonias throughout the southwest and the midwest. In most cases, Mexican labor came in with the railroads and established lasting communities from what were originally railroad labor camps. These communities were founded next to the tracks because that was often marginal land, affordable and close to work, and because *de facto* segregation existed. In Colton, the Chicano community established itself on an open section of land southeast of the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks where most of the Mexicanos worked.

The new Mexicano community developing close to the tracks was directly adjacent to a well-established Spanish-speaking community made up of descendants of the original New Mexican/Genizaro settlers of San Salvador. These settlers, from Abiqui, New Mexico, had come to the river-bottom area near South Colton in 1843, at the behest of Californio rancheros who wanted families to colonize the outer limits of their lands and protect their property from Indian attack, thieves, and marauders. In exchange, the New Mexican pioneers, led by Hipolito Espinosa and Lorenzo Trujillo, received land on which to settle, farm, and establish their own communities. In 1913, when the Church of San Salvador was built in South Colton, the two Spanish-speaking communities merged. The original San Salvador Church was built in Agua Mansa by the community in 1853. It had, however, been abandoned in the 1890s, and was subsequently reconstructed in South Colton when barrio residents petitioned the Archdiocese for their own church. San Salvador Church, central to the religious, social, and political life of South Colton, still sits on the corner of 7th and M streets where it was built in 1913.

As the town of Colton continued to grow and prosper, the Chicano barrio also grew, through

natural increase as well as continued immigration. By 1905, South Colton had 500 residents and was called "Little Mexico" and "Choloville" by the Anglo residents of Colton. South Colton developed according to the economic, social, and political realities of the Mexicanos and Chicanos who lived and worked there. Little by little, Mexicanos bought small lots and designed and built their own homes using materials they could afford, and with the help of family and friends. Thus, the homes in South Colton are primarily small, wooden frame structures, many of which started out as shacks constructed of discarded lumber and corrugated metal. Many are of an elongated design, with one room after another added as families grew. In most cases, there is a small garden either to the side or at the back of the house, and the lot is made attractive by the addition of numerous plants in brilliantly colored pots. Many of the lots also have cactus and other succulents planted near or around the house. The design of the homes, the material used to construct them, and the use of the exterior space reflects not only the economic conditions and space needs of the Chicanos in South Colton, but also their aesthetic and cultural sensibilities. In short, the Mexicanos who created this community gave it the aesthetic form and texture they were familiar with in Mexico. They re-created a Mexican environment.

The economic, social, and political conditions, and the Chicano response to them in South Colton, are further revealed in the history of the community. In response to poverty, racism, and exclusion from socio-political institutions in the town of Colton, Chicanos in the barrio created their own institutions to educate their young, provide medical aid, and offer economic assistance. They also formed a labor union. By 1910, South Colton had an underground Spanish-language academy, where barrio youngsters were instructed in their community's language, values, and history after the regular school day and on Saturday mornings. In 1913, community organizations in South Colton included a mutualista group (mutual aid society), a *Comite de Fiestas Patrioticas* (committee for celebrating Mexican national holidays), and a women's *Cruz Azul* (Blue Cross) society. The mutualistas helped each other with burial and other expenses when work-related and other calamities occurred. The *Cruz Azul* members visited the sick and helped families when illness struck in the barrio. Celebrations of Mexico's national holidays, particularly the 16th of September and *Cinco de Mayo*, were organized by the *Comite de Fiestas Patrioticas*.

In 1917, Chicano workers organized the *Trabajadores Unidos* union and led a successful strike against the Portland Cement Company, one of Colton's major industries and its largest employer.

The two-month strike was in protest of a cut in Mexicanos' wages by the cement company, whose rationale for the wage cut was that Mexicans were making too much money. Anglo workers employed at the cement company did not have their wages cut. *Trabajadores Unidos* won the strike; the company rescinded the wage cut. Subsequently, the union opened a cooperative grocery store which they called "La Union."

The period from World War I to the Great Depression saw some growth, but not parallel growth, of Colton's two communities. South Colton did not receive its share of municipal funds for municipal services, or educational and recreation facilities. Streets in South Colton remained unpaved; sewage services were nonexistent. Chicano youngsters were segregated in a Mexican grade school with inadequate facilities and insufficient teachers, and were not welcome in the town's one high school in Colton proper. The city's swimming pool was segregated; Mexicanos could swim only on the day before the water was to be changed. The town's theater was also segregated. The two communities remained segregated, and except for work and some shopping, Chicanos and Anglos seldom interacted.

In South Colton, Chicano-owned businesses sprang up to serve the Chicano community. A number of small businesses, including bakeries, groceries, restaurants, pool halls, taverns, clothing, and butcher shops, met most of the shopping needs of the community. While most of these stores are now closed, a few still exist, such as the Seventh Street Market, still operated by the original owners, and Martinez's Bakery, now a small grocery store run by the daughter of the original owner. The significance of these stores cannot be overestimated. They not only provided necessary provisions for a community that had restricted access to stores in Colton proper, but they did so in the language, mannerisms, and customs expressing the economic and cultural values of a working-class Mexican community. Even their decor, which included notices of community events,



an altar dedicated to a special saint, or the owner's patron saint sitting in a special corner, reaffirmed the cultural identity of the community. Forced into segregation by economic circumstance and racial discrimination, the Chicano community placed its indelible stamp on South Colton.

The community's social functions, including quinceañeras, baptisms, weddings, dances, Fiestas Patrióticas, and other social activities, were held in either the Parish Hall or a dance hall built in South Colton. The social life of the community revolved around these two halls, which were always decorated with banderitas, brilliantly colored crepe paper, and other ornaments reflecting the aesthetic sensibilities of the community. Significant, too, is the fact that these activities involved the entire family. Grandparents, parents, young marrieds, teenagers, and infants all attended the dances, which often attracted big-name Mexicano and Chicano bands and conjuntos from Los Angeles. For men in particular, local pool halls and taverns were major centers of social activity -- a place to relax, have a beer, see friends, and talk over situations regarding family, work, and making ends meet.

To meet the community's entertainment needs and interests, as well as to counter the racism represented by the segregated Anglo-owned theater in Colton, two Chicano theaters showing Spanish-language films opened in South Colton. El Tivoli on 7th and O Streets and El Teatro Hidalgo not only showed films, they were also centers for community activity and Spanish-language theatrical presentations, including those of the traveling Circo Escalante from Los Angeles, and tandas de variedad. The latter activity usually consisted of local residents displaying their talents to each other. Cecilia Martinez Williams, born and raised in South Colton and now owner of Martinez's Bakery, fondly recalled performing at the Tivoli as a child, and stated that children's performances were a regular part of the activities at the Tivoli. Only a cement slab remains of the Tivoli now.

To ensure that Chicano youngsters had a place to swim on a daily basis and that the community had a recreational center, Juan Caldera, owner of Caldera's Carniceria (butcher shop), built a stadium complex in South Colton in 1922. Calling it the International Stadium, Caldera built a swimming pool, a baseball diamond, and bleachers. Chicano baseball teams from all over Southern California came to South Colton to compete in an informal and unofficial, but very active, Chicano baseball league. Of the stadium and swimming pool, very little remains -- a cement foundation and a dusty, overgrown field are the only reminders of the structures around which the

community's recreational life revolved in the years before the Depression of the 1930s.

Repatriation and deportation of Mexicanos during the Great Depression not only served to depopulate South Colton, but also effectively destroyed the developing economic and social stability of the barrio. Most of the stores were closed. Many of the residents, including Caldera, later returned, but they had lost their property and any savings accumulated before repatriation or deportation. South Colton never recovered from the effects of the repatriation/deportation program.

During the Second World War, young people left the barrio as the community sent its young men to war. After the war, they moved to urban centers where economic and educational opportunities appeared more accessible. Those who stayed in South Colton during and after the war, however, began to organize politically and challenge the Anglo establishment. Excessive force used by Colton police in what has been called the "Colton Zoot Suit Riot" was soundly condemned by Chicanos. They saw it as part of the attack against Mexicanos that occurred in Los Angeles in 1943, when Anglo sailors and marines attacked Mexican and Black youngsters wearing "drapes," stripped and beat them, and then watched the police arrest them. Chicanos in South Colton launched protests against the police and demanded better municipal services from City Hall, desegregation of the schools, and a voice in local government. In the 1950s, they elected a Chicano councilman.

Organization and political activity continued in the 1960s as residents of South Colton joined the Chicano movement in the struggle for political participation and civil rights. In 1979, Colton elected a Chicano mayor and two Chicanos on the City Council, as well as a Chicano school board member.

Though political gains have been won, South Colton remains economically depressed, and the Chicano barrio is in danger of succumbing to urban renewal. The barrio now sits on prime industrial property, and private developers are anxious to buy out low-income property owners and make the area into an industrial park. At this time, although many of the original families still reside there, the population is increasingly composed of recent arrivals from Mexico. They, like the original inhabitants, have come in as unskilled labor in non-union industries; they receive low wages, and have few economic benefits or securities. These newer residents come to a community that is essentially Mexicano in language, values, and customs. They contribute mightily to its linguistic, social, cultural, and historical continuity as a Chicano community.

From the original Bandini and Lugo land grants to the pioneer settlements of New Mexican-Genizaros at San Salvador, the influx of Mexican railroad labor, segregation of the two communities, and development of a Chicano working class community in South Colton, the Chicano historical experience is woven into the structures and the economic, linguistic, social, and cultural fabric of this small, self-contained Chicano barrio.

El Centro Campesino

San Juan Bautista, San Benito County

El Centro Campesino Cultural in San Juan Bautista, San Benito County, is the home of the internationally acclaimed Teatro Campesino. Its director, Luis Valdez, is one of the nation's foremost contemporary playwrights. Founded in 1965 on the picket lines of the Great Delano Grape Strike and an integral part of the struggle to organize a national farmworkers' union, El Teatro Campesino is a vital force in the Chicano community. The Teatro has made invaluable contributions for the farmworkers' movement, to Chicano theater, to alternative theater, and to theater in California and the United States. Originating in Delano and later moving to a small center in Fresno, the Teatro had been in temporary quarters at San Juan Bautista. In 1978, the theater group purchased one acre on Fourth Street in San Juan Bautista, which now houses an old warehouse they plan to remodel into a major theater facility. San Juan Bautista, where they have also purchased 40 acres of land in the country, will be their permanent home.

Rooted in the contemporary Chicano struggle for self-determination, the Teatro Campesino is also rooted in Hispanic and Chicano theatrical traditions. These traditions include early religious and secular dramas performed in Mexico, Latin America, and California during the colonial period, and in Mexico and its provinces during the period of Mexican rule. They also include a people's or "popular" theater of the rambunctious, rollicking bands of carpas and maromeros, and the tandas de variedad. These latter two forms of popular theater were particularly strong in Chicano communities throughout California from the late nineteenth century to about the late 1940s.

In addition to drawing on Hispanic, Chicano, and other theatrical traditions, El Teatro Campesino has created traditions of its own as it has performed at labor camps, fields, urban centers, college campuses, and theaters in Latin America, the United States, and Europe. El Teatro Campesino has spawned an entire generation of teatros throughout the country, from El Teatro del Piojo in Washington State to El Teatro Bi-lingue in Texas.

Along with Luis Valdez, the Teatro's founder and director, most of the company's members were farmworkers and other working-class people. Their productions reflect Chicano reality, as well as their own experiences. Their initial audience and supporters were farmworkers, to whom the art of Valdez and the Teatro spoke their way of life. From 1965 to 1967, the Teatro Campesino performed its *actos* in the fields, during union meetings, and in protest marches. In the latter half of 1967, when it was clear that the United Farmworkers' Organizing Committee was going to survive and build a union, the Teatro severed its umbilical cord with the farmworkers' union and established an independent, non-profit cultural center in Fresno. The company formed El Centro Campesino Cultural, Inc., a non-profit theatrical company and production company.

The reception accorded the Teatro in labor camps and theaters is unparalleled in U.S. theater history. In 1969 and again in 1972, the Teatro toured Europe, where it portrayed the farmworker's struggle at the World Theater Festival in Nancy, France. In 1972, the company began to work on "La Carpa de Los Rasquachis," a summation of all the work that had come before. "La Carpa" was performed in Mexico City, and toured throughout the United States with runs in Seattle, New York, and Los Angeles in 1974. It was heralded as a major theatrical achievement.

"La Carpa" was at its fullest completion in 1976, when the Teatro launched another major European tour. "La Carpa," as an official bicentennial event, started at the Popular Comic Theater Festival in Nancy, France, and made its way through eight European countries.

The internationally known Teatro was awarded the Off-Broadway Award in 1968, and the Los Angeles Drama Critic's Award in 1969 and 1972. In 1972, Valdez created "Los Vendidos" for television. This production won several awards, among them a television Emmy. In January 1978, Valdez received the Rockefeller Foundation's Playwright in Residence Award, in connection with the production of his original play, "Zoot Suit." He was commissioned to write and direct "Zoot Suit" for production at the Mark Taper Forum of the Center Theater Group in Los Angeles. "Zoot Suit," an immediate success at the Mark Taper, later had an extraordinarily lengthy and successful run at the Aquarius Theater. It was produced on Broadway in 1979 and made into a movie in 1981. In the spring of 1978, Valdez and the Teatro Campesino were presented with a resolution from the California Assembly which read, in part: "For numerous and valuable contributions to our cultural enrichment, Luis Valdez and El Teatro Campesino are deserving of public recognition and high commendations."

The Teatro Campesino's significance to Chicano history and culture are indisputable, as is its contribution to the culture of the state of California. The center in San Juan Bautista merits a special place in the history and culture of this state. The Teatro is currently located in a former packing house, built of wood in 1944. The 12,400-square-foot structure is situated on almost one acre of land.



Chicano Park-Logan Heights

San Diego, San Diego County

Chicano Park, located under the Coronado Bay Bridge which connects San Diego proper with Coronado, is a 7.9-acre open space for residents of southwest San Diego. Mural art forms adorn the bridge support pillars. A kiosk resembling an Aztec temple is located in the park.

Chicano Park was the creation of a community that underwent many physical and psychological changes. Barrio Logan, a San Diego community numbering approximately 20,000, is a predominantly Mexican community which has been victimized by progress, pollution, and physical destruction in the last 30 years.

The waterfront community, known as Logan Heights since the 1930s, has been denied recreational use of the waterfront itself. First closed off during World War II, the waterfront has now been zoned industrial. Recreational use is prohibited.

Industries brought an estimated 50,000 jobs to the community, but residents say most of the jobs have gone to outsiders. The community lives with noise, traffic, and air pollution which endangers the residents, their lifestyles, and their future.

In the 1960s, Interstate 5 was built. The Coronado Bridge was added to a community already dotted with junkyards, auto-wreckers, factories, homes, and run-down properties owned by absentee landlords. In the process of adding the concrete highway

structures, the community was bisected, and homes, gardens, and a people's way of life were damaged.

Attempting to restore some vitality to the neighborhood, residents asked the city to build a park where people could go and rest and where children could play. It was Mario Solis, a resident of the community who has since died, who found out that construction of a California Highway Patrol substation and parking lot had begun while the plea for a community park had gone unheard. Word spread across the barrio, and on April 22, 1970, the residents of Logan Heights walked down to the site under the Coronado Bridge with shovels, pickaxes, and rakes, and constructed a park for the community, halting construction on the CHP substation and giving birth to Chicano Park.

Chicano students from the area walked out of their respective schools en masse, and joined the community in claiming the land as a park to meet the needs of the community. April 22 was later proclaimed a Chicano holiday by school officials, thereby exempting the students from any repercussions for their role in the walkout and takeover of the land.

The Chicano Park area originally was a 1.6-acre site, enclosed by an offramp from the Coronado Bridge that channels traffic onto Interstate 5. The park epitomizes Barrio Logan's cultural, physical, and societal commitment to the area. It has also recorded a people's history in the murals painted on the pillars of the freeway.

Salvador Torres, an artist who grew up in the area, envisioned the murals as a monument to peace and a symbol for community rejuvenation. Local artists, as well as artists from Los Angeles and Santa Ana, and the Royal Chicano Air Force (RCAF), a Sacramento-based Chicano art group, have added their visions to the columns.

Despite its recent designation as a historical landmark by the City of San Diego, Chicano Park remains in danger of being vandalized or destroyed just as its surrounding neighborhood, Barrio Logan, is in danger of obliteration as a result of continuing pressure for new urban and industrial development.

"The Making of a Fresco"

San Francisco

Diego Rivera's mural, "The Making of a Fresco," is a 40-by-30-foot fresco panel, painted in 1931 on the 1,200-square-foot north wall of the San Francisco Art Institute in the City of San Francisco. The mural has not been altered.



Rivera's "The Making of a Fresco" is the first of two murals the famed, controversial Mexican muralist was commissioned to paint in San Francisco during the 1930s. While he subsequently painted another mural in San Francisco after the Depression, as well as murals in other parts of the United States, the San Francisco Art Institute commission enabled Rivera to enter this country initially. Despite patronage by influential Bay Area architects, artists, sculptors, and art patrons, it took several years to obtain State Department clearance for Rivera to enter the United States.

Rivera's influence on North American muralism during the Depression and on contemporary Chicano/Latino muralism is readily acknowledged by muralists, art historians, and scholars. A master technician in the art of muralism, and the major force behind the revival of mural painting in Mexico, Rivera was also an incisive social critic. His outspoken criticism of Mexican and North American society, often revealed in his murals, made him a controversial figure in art and politics in both countries.

"The Making of a Fresco," also called at times "Workers in Control of Production," sparked controversy less for its theme than for the fact that the commission was awarded to a Mexican muralist who was also a Communist, rather than to a North American painter. Despite opposition from Bay Area artists, as well as from the general public, Rivera completed the Stock Exchange Club and the San Francisco Art Institute murals in 1931.

Rivera included representations of the following people in the central panel of this work: Timothy Pflueger, member of the Board of Directors of the San Francisco Art Association and architect of the Stock Exchange Club; Arthur Brown, Jr., architect of the California School of Fine Arts; and William Gerstle, San Francisco art patron. Others in the work are Viscount John Hastings, a radical English lord and painter; Clifford Wright, English sculptor; Marion Simpson; Michael Baltekal-Goodman; Albert

Barrows, technical and art worker; and Matthew Barnes, artist and actor. Rivera also included a rear-view self-portrait in the center of the mural. That portion of the mural sparked a great deal of controversy.

St. Mary's Catholic Church

Stockton, San Joaquin County

Captain Charles Weber, the founder of Stockton, donated two lots as a building site for the first Roman Catholic church in the San Joaquin Valley. The location on Washington and Hunter Streets was ideally suited because of its proximity to the Catholic population -- mostly Mexican, Spanish, Chilean, and French. The first church was a wooden structure. However, the present church, built of brick in the Gothic design, was formally consecrated in 1862, ten months after Archbishop Alemany, the state's first prelate, had dedicated the cornerstone. In 1870, an addition to the north of the building was completed. But the most impressive feature of the structure, the Gothic spire, was erected in 1893. The building was further remodeled between 1945 and 1949.

St. Mary's Church Parish is located adjacent to the church. The parish, a two-story brick building constructed in the Classic Revival style in 1905, served as a home for priests, who used the little cloister as a retreat and study.

Washington Park, across the street from the church, was used extensively for religious festivities. Mexican Catholics, for example, celebrated the "hanging of Judas" every Good Friday at Washington Park. "At an early hour," wrote an observer, "they would assemble dressed in various costumes to show their hatred to the traitor disciple." The park was destroyed in 1977 when the Crosstown Freeway was built, drastically altering the area around St. Mary's.

St. Mary's Church, inherently important as one of the leading religious institutions of the San Joaquin Valley since the mid-nineteenth century, has been significant as the center of the Cursillo Movement in California. Originating in Majorca, Spain in 1947 and brought to the United States a decade later, the Cursillo phenomenon has had a great impact on Mexican Americans throughout the southwest. Not only has it altered the traditional "Latin" approach to religion by encouraging male participation in the liturgy, but it has fostered greater social activism among Catholics. Established leaders like Cesar Chavez have become *cursillistas*, and new leaders have been pushed forward by the religious movement.

Participants in the Cursillo undertake three-day "retreats" where they experience religious renewal and dedication. They also learn group dynamics. While clerics often participate, the aim of the Cursillo is to stress greater responsibility among lay persons in the liturgy, as well as in secular activities of the Church.

The Cursillo Movement, for example, has joined Vatican II in promoting the use of the vernacular in religious services. While the retreats often resemble old-fashioned frontier revivals, the movement has encouraged preaching the social gospel. The acceptance of the emotional side of religion has offended the more conservative hierarchy, who never have embraced the Hispanic emphasis on ritual. Even more disturbing, however, is the Cursillo Movement's social activism. Only a few bishops -- like Bishop Donohue of Stockton -- have tolerated clerical involvement in the farm labor movement and other reform efforts. The hierarchy has been no more sympathetic to Cursillista lay persons active in social reform programs.

The Cursillo Movement began in Stockton in 1960. It was started by Julian Sepulveda and Zeke Rosas, prominent parishioners of St. Mary's Church, along with Father Alan McCoy. In the last decade, more than 6,000 persons have made a Cursillo. As in other parishes, women are invited to participate after their husbands have completed the course. Numerous young Catholics have been attracted by the social activist objectives of the St. Mary's Cursillo. The Council for the Spanish-Speaking is only one community organization that was established by Cursillistas in Stockton. It provides assistance to the elderly, operates a dining hall for the indigent, and offers health care to farmworkers. In addition, Cursillistas participate as deacons at Mass and other religious services. Anglo Catholics as well as Hispanics are involved in the movement. Many of the members are important citizens in the community who have learned leadership techniques in the Cursillo Movement and have applied them in the secular realm. For example, Max Benitez used his newly discovered leadership skills to successfully initiate a movement that resulted in changing height requirements for the Sheriff's Department.

The Cursillo Movement at St. Mary's has been so successful that teams of Stockton Cursillistas have visited parishes throughout California, giving three-day retreats. They have even traveled to the Philippines, to Mexico, and to Ireland for the same purpose. The movement has helped revitalize the Catholic Church in the Hispanic community.



Pilarcitos Cemetery

Half Moon Bay, San Mateo County

The Pilarcitos Cemetery in Half Moon Bay, San Mateo County, is currently overgrown with weeds and bushes. The gravesites, with cracked tombstones and mining markers, are in disrepair. The abandoned cemetery was also the site of the Church of Nuestra Senora del Pilar. The cemetery, in use from 1820 to 1923, was established by priests from Mission Dolores.

The Catholic Church established Pilarcitos Cemetery on its Tierra de Corral rancho lands in 1820 as the burial ground of Christianized Indian people and others who died in the coastal area between Villa de Branciforte (Santa Cruz) and San Francisco. With secularization of the missions in the 1830s, Tiburcio Vasquez's portion of the Tierra del Corral grant included the land on which Pilarcitos Cemetery was located.

When San Benito was founded in the 1840s, Pilarcitos became the pueblo's cemetery. San Benito's original founders and many of their descendants, as well as the early Mexicano and Chileno settlers who came to San Benito, are buried in Pilarcitos.

In 1854, Tiburcio Vasquez donated land for a church. The original Church de Nuestra Senora del Pilar (Our Lady of the Pillar) was built at the old cemetery. Jesuit priests traveling the long way from Santa Clara served the church and the community. The church was destroyed by fire in 1876 and later rebuilt at another location.

After the arrival and settlement of Anglos in the community, the International Order of Odd Fellows built another cemetery on three acres of land immediately adjacent to Pilarcitos Cemetery. The two cemeteries are distinguishable by the names on the headstones and by the styles of the grave markers.

With few exceptions, Spanish-surnamed people are buried in the original Catholic/San Benito section of

Pilarcitos. Now abandoned, the two cemeteries, collectively called Pilarcitos, were the town's burial ground until 1923. The Catholic/San Benito portion of the cemetery reflects the pueblo's Mexican/Californio origin and the continued presence of Mexicans in this coastal community.

Holy Cross Cemetery/Archbishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany, O.P.

Colma, San Mateo County

The sepulcher of Archbishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany is located in the central apse of the mausoleum that is reserved for burial of Archbishops of the Archdiocese of San Francisco. The mausoleum is located in the Holy Cross Cemetery in Colma, San Mateo County

Catalans played a significant role in exploration and settlement of California during the Spanish period, and in the development of cultural, social, religious, and educational institutions during the post-1850 period. But while the secular and religious contributions of early Catalan explorers and missionaries, including Gaspar de Portola and Father Junipero Serra, have generally been acknowledged, the assumption all too often has been that Catalan influence in California terminated with the advent of statehood, at least, if not with the cessation of Spanish control. Documentary evidence, however, effectively refutes this belief.

American California's first three bishops, Joseph Sadoc Alemany, Thaddeus Amat, and Francis Mora, were all Catalans. They exhibited a progressive, far-reaching attitude toward the establishment of educational institutions at every level: orphanages and day-care centers to meet the needs of the state's abandoned or neglected children, and auxiliary religious organizations to serve as a focus for social and cultural endeavors. As Francis Weber succinctly points out:

California Catholicism owes a great debt of gratitude to its Spanish forebears from the ecclesiastical Province of Tarragona in the Principality of Catalonia for no other area in all the world has given so freely of its leaders than this 12,464 square mile gem of the Iberian Peninsula. (Francis Weber, Readings in California Catholic History, p. 90)

The work of Joseph Sadoc Alemany, a native of Vich and the first Archbishop of San Francisco, exemplifies the impact Catalan bishops had on the state's religious and secular life. An indefatigable worker,

Alemany traveled to outlying reaches of his diocese to assess the needs of his flock, to provide encouragement and reassurance, and to exhort those who had strayed to return to the Church. The year after his arrival in California in 1850, for example, Alemany traveled to New Almaden to bless the cemetery that had been established for the "many Catholics who work there in the mines." (McGloin, p. 122, quoting Alemany's *Liber Visitationis Episcopalis*) He made a number of trips through the Sacramento Valley to the Mother Lode, where he baptized, confirmed, and buried parishioners, and dedicated a number of churches, including St. Rose of Lima in Sacramento, the Immaculate Conception Church at Goodyear's Bar, and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin in Downieville.

A simple, unpretentious man, Alemany was highly regarded by Catholics and non-Catholics alike, although when the Catholic Church in Drytown, Amador County, was burned in 1855, someone in the crowd, noticing the curate's presence, suggested hanging him. Fortunately, the man's suggestion was not taken, and Alemany continued to work in California for another 30 years.

Alemany was responsible for bringing the first religious order of women, the Dominican Sisters, to work in California. Establishment of the Dominican Convent Santa Catalina in Monterey in March 1851 was followed by founding of a convent by the Sisters of Notre Dame in San Jose in July of that same year. Under Alemany's auspices, the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul also came to California to establish a convent in San Francisco. The arrival of these dedicated pioneers permitted the founding of schools throughout the diocese, such as St. Catherine's Female Academy at Monterey, staffed by Dominican Sisters, and the Female Academy at Pueblo (San Jose), supervised by the Sisters of Notre Dame. Additional schools were opened after the arrival of two more teaching congregations in 1854, the Sisters of the Presentation and the Sisters of Mercy.

Alemany's great concern with education was manifested not only in the concrete measures he undertook to assist and promote parochial education, but in his life-long ambition to establish a missionary college in Spain to train people to work in areas then or formerly under the control of Spain. He particularly believed that such an institution could help to meet California's need for priests, the number of which was never sufficient to minister to California's rapidly growing Catholic population. According to church records, that population more than doubled in the 15 years between 1859 and 1875. Although Alemany never had the time or the

opportunity to establish such a college, his ambition testifies to his interest in California's educational and religious development.

The Archbishop's concern for the children of California led to formation of the Sisterhood of the Holy Family in 1872, when Alemany persuaded Elizabeth Armer, a resident of San Francisco, to abandon her intention of joining one of the existing orders and to establish instead a religious community devoted to caring for children of working parents.

Despite the large percentage of working-class parishioners in Alemany's diocese, San Francisco's Archbishop did not hesitate to denounce the excesses of Denis Kearney's Workingmen's Party during the late 1870s. "While freely admitting that the flood of Asiatic immigrants let loose upon California had grievously afflicted the workingmen of his flock, Alemany insisted that lawful redress must come from the government. . . ." (McCloin, p. 294) In 1878, Kearney's continued rabble-rousing finally prompted Alemany to prohibit Catholic participation at all rallies the Archbishop termed "seditious, anti-social, and anti-Christian meetings." (*Ibid.*, p. 295) Alemany's opposition to Kearney's movement did much to undermine the Irishman's support and dissipate the movement's cohesiveness.

Alemany's long and faithful service in California ended when his resignation as Archbishop was accepted by the Holy See in December 1884. The necessity of arranging for a smooth transfer of duties prevented his departure from San Francisco until May 1885. After 34 years in California, Alemany retired to Spain and settled in Valencia, where he died in 1888. His final request, to be buried in the Church of Santa Domingo in Vich, his birthplace, was granted.

Alemany's labors in California, however, prompted a number of petitions to permit transferral of his remains to San Francisco "so that the church there might properly honor in death the Catalan prelate who had given it such laborious years of service." (*Ibid.*, p. 393) But it was not until 1965, after prolonged negotiations with the Spanish government, the authorities in Vich, and the Alemany family that the remains of Joseph Sadoc Alemany were finally transferred to the sepulcher in Holy Cross Cemetery.

A staunch proponent of education, a humanitarian, and a man who profoundly shaped the consciousness of California Catholics, Alemany, a naturalized American citizen, was first and last a Catalan who brought the best of his province's heritage to his adopted country. His guidance tempered and elevated the lives of California's inhabitants at a time

when men of vision were desperately needed to help mold a raw frontier society to meet the demands of the future. While his influence permeated Northern California's educational and social institutions, the obvious choice for a memorial plaque is in Holy Cross Cemetery, Alemany's final resting place.



Spanishtown Site

New Almaden, Santa Clara County

Spanishtown, with its homes, school, church, and cantina, where Mexicanos, Californios, and Chileno miners lived and worked, no longer exists. The 5.6-acre site in Santa Clara County is now covered with meadow grass and bushes. The area where Spanishtown and Englishtown were located is closed to the public. The only remnants of Spanishtown are a picket fence surrounding one of the overgrown cemeteries and a number of large cacti planted by miners near their homes.

The New Almaden Quicksilver Mine, the oldest and most productive quicksilver mine in the United States, was discovered by Mexicanos. Moreover, it was initially developed by Mexicanos using Spanish/Mexican mining technology, and worked with Mexican labor until the turn of the century. The importance of Mexicanos to California's first capital-intensive mining venture merits public recognition.

In 1824, Secundino Robles, a native Californio, was the first non-Indian person to discover the cinnabar deposits, the "mahetka" or vermillion-colored rocks that the Ohlones used for adornment. These deposits are located in the Capitancillo Hills 12 miles from San Jose on land once owned by Jose Reyes Berryessa, a retired sergeant of the Presidio of San Francisco. When Robles told Antonio Sunol and Luis Chabolla about his discovery, they thought they might find gold or silver in the unusual, vermillion-

colored, cinnabar deposits high on the hills above Los Alamos Creek. Finding neither gold or silver, Sunol and Chabolla abandoned their venture.

In 1845, Andres Castillero, a native of Spain and a captain in the Mexican military, visited Alta California and became interested in the red rock he saw at the Mission Santa Clara. Castillero was trained in geology, chemistry, and metallurgy. He was also familiar with the quicksilver mines of La Mancha, Spain. Castillero experimented with the red rock. He fired and roasted samples of it, and concluded the roasted rock was cinnabar, the bearer of mercury.

On November 22, 1845, Castillero filed the required declaration of intent with Pedro Chabolla, the Alcalde of the pueblo of San Jose. Castillero named the mine the Santa Clara, and divided ownership into 24 shares: four shares to Father Jose Maria de Real, four to Don Juan Castro, four to Secundino and Teodoro Robles, and 12 for himself. On December 3, 1845, Castillero expanded his declaration to the effect that in conjunction with the claim of silver with a ley of gold, he had definitely discovered quicksilver. He provided sufficient evidence to support his claim. On December 30, 1845, First Alcalde Antonio Maria Pico awarded a certificate of possession to Castillero for 3,000 varas (yards) of land in all directions. Castillero returned to the mine with William Chard, a carpenter he had met in San Jose, and hired Indian workers to build rudimentary furnaces to work the mine.

By August 1846, approximately 3,000 pounds of ore had been fired with favorable results at the Santa Clara. Realizing, however, that he needed capital, labor, and equipment to develop his mine, Castillero left for Mexico to try to secure the means to develop his venture. He never returned to California. Castillero's services were required by the Mexican military in the mounting conflict between Mexico and the United States.

Late in 1846, Castillero and Juan Castro sold their shares in the Santa Clara to the Barron, Forbes Company, an English industrial firm that operated a cotton mill in Tepic, Mexico. The Barron, Forbes Company changed the Santa Clara's name to the New Almaden, after the famous Almaden quicksilver mine in Spain, which had been operating for centuries. The term Almaden, derived from Arabic, means "the mine."

In the fall of 1847, Alexander Forbes arrived from Mexico with a large crew of workers and equipment, and with John Young, who would superintend the operation. The Barron, Forbes Company initiated the first organized mining operation in the Mexican territory of California. Mexican labor built the major structures at the New Almaden. The "Hacienda de

Beneficio," or "reduction works," was built at the gateway to the mine on the banks of Los Alamitos Creek. That structure still stands. Next, workers built small houses over several low ridges in a large, open ravine. The ravine area, known as Deep Gulch, became the location of the Spanishtown settlement, which accommodated the Mexican mining crews and their families. Eventually, three settlements would exist at New Almaden: Spanishtown, English-town, and the Hacienda. Spanishtown was the largest of the three. The majority of Spanishtown's people were married and in their younger years.

Mexican labor and Spanish/Mexican mining technology developed the New Almaden Mine during its early years. Most of the early miners were imported from Sonora; their numbers were increased by native Californios and some Chilenos. These laborers built the mine's "*planilla*," the long, open shed where ore cars were unloaded and crews of laborers broke the ore to specified size and separated it according to its value. In the grading process, the ore was placed in one of three groups, referred to as *gruesa*, *granza*, and *tierra*. Gruesa was the highest grade or purest quality ore; granza was good ore but contained other rock substances; tierra was inferior quality.

Mexican mining operations at the New Almaden were carried on by two groups of workers classified as "Tanateros" and "Mineros." Tanateros were the carriers of ore. Their stamina and physical endurance was severely tested as they brought out the ore over a tortuous course of travel.

The Barron, Forbes Company owned and operated the New Almaden from 1847 to 1863. In 1864, after an eight-year legal battle, the Quicksilver Mining Company of New York and Pennsylvania, which received the favorable verdict in the contest with the Barron, Forbes Company, began operating the mine. During the Barron, Forbes years at the New Almaden, the population was predominantly Mexican. In 1858, New Almaden's population was 1,600, most of whom were Mexican miners and their families.

In 1870, James Butterworth Randol became general manager of the Quicksilver Mining Company at Almaden. Randol, who was impressed by the stability and working techniques of Cornish miners, brought in miners from Cornwall. He also encouraged Cornish miners from the Mother Lode country to come to the Almaden site. Thus, Englishtown was established at New Almaden, now the Quicksilver Mining Company. The Quicksilver Mining Company reorganized the mining operation for more efficient production. This company also established and

formalized an authoritarian structure at the mine. New Almaden was henceforth operated as a company town.

The Mexican population at New Almaden decreased in size. A census report at New Almaden for 1890, however, includes 627 Spanish-surnamed people in a population of approximately 1,100. By the turn of the century, most of the Mexican population had moved out of New Almaden. Today, the only remaining traces of the two mining settlements are a picket fence surrounding one of the cemeteries, a number of large cactus plants at Spanishtown, and weatherbeaten remnants of the school and general store at Englishtown.

Durgan Bridge

Downieville, Sierra County

Overt racism has played as important a role in shaping California's history as it has in other parts of the country. Until recent years, however, both professional historians and the general public have ignored "conflict history," with the exception of a few outstanding examples such as the Civil War and the Mexican War. By focusing solely on "consensus history," in which groups with differing aspirations and beliefs managed to cooperate for some mutually beneficial end, important elements necessary for understanding and appreciating American history have been downplayed, and in many instances virtually forgotten. The failure to incorporate racial and ethnic conflict in any presentation of the American experience denies us both the opportunity to see how far we as a nation have come in pursuit of the "American ideal" and how far we have to go. Only by examining such issues, no matter how painful, can we fully appreciate the complexities of our collective historical experience.

Certainly, strident anti-Mexican sentiment existed in California during the early 1850s. The influx of Mexican miners from Sonora, their success in locating profitable claims, and the pivotal role they played in transporting supplies to the mines did little to endear either Mexicans or native Californios to Anglo immigrants who were then swarming across the Sierra and around the Horn to seek their fortunes in California. Imbued with a sense of manifest destiny and an incipient social Darwinism, the newcomers confirmed their own sense of superiority by pointing to the ease with which the United States had first occupied and then defeated Mexico in the period 1846-1848. Despite guarantees extended to Spanish-speaking residents of California and other territories acquired by the United States at the conclusion of the war by the Treaty of Guada-

lupe Hidalgo, Mexicanos and Californios alike were viewed as inferior beings with few, if any, rights.

Shortly after admission of California to the Union in 1850, Mexicans and Mexican Americans were subjected to both legalized and mob-inspired discrimination and persecution. The First Foreign Miners' Tax, which levied a tax on all foreign miners, was inspired primarily by the desire to eliminate Mexican competition in the mines. This was accompanied by random but pervasive violence against Spanish-speaking individuals in the Mother Lode. The Chilean War at Chili Gulch, Calaveras County, the burning of a "Mexican" church in Drytown, Amador County, and the persecution of Mexicans at Rancheria were simply a few manifestations of anti-Mexican feeling in California. But one of the most shocking incidents was the lynching at Downieville of a young Mexican woman known through the years simply as Juanita.

Juanita, or Josefa (which was probably her real name), lived in Downieville with a young man named Jose, who was either her husband or her lover. Juanita was by most accounts an attractive young woman of a reputable nature who reportedly "had come to California from Matzalan in Mexico." (James J. Sinnott, *History of Sierra County*, p. 48) Juanita's character and appearance are the two things about which contemporary accounts agree. Her fate was sealed by the hostility of the Anglo community toward what they considered to be Mexican interlopers in their midst, as well as by the "ill-will between the roughly-dressed miners and the usually flashy-dressed gamblers," one of whom was Juanita's companion, Jose, a monte dealer in one of the local saloons. Juanita became embroiled in an argument with Joseph Cannon, a popular English miner from Australia, whom she subsequently stabbed.

The incident began on the evening of July 4, 1851, when Joseph Cannon and at least one companion, according to most accounts, careened down Downieville's make-shift streets after a hard day-and-night celebration of Independence Day. Some said Cannon went through the town, knocking on doors and demanding that people join him for a drink, and that this was how he happened to bang on and inadvertently break down what was by all accounts the frail door of the cabin shared by Juanita and Jose. But others contend that Cannon fell through the door in a drunken stupor, and after staggering to his feet, was hustled from the cabin by his companion before he could do any mischief.

Most accounts seem to agree that the next day, Jose went to Cannon and demanded payment for the damaged door, although at least one account states that Cannon, realizing what he had done, set off

voluntarily to make restitution for the door. In any case, Jose and Cannon got into an argument that looked as though it was going to become a fight. At that point, Juanita reportedly thrust herself between Cannon, who weighed "about 230 pounds and . . . was well over six feet tall," and Jose, a slightly built individual. Juanita and Cannon then continued the argument in Spanish. Although a crowd gathered, most of them could not understand Juanita and Cannon's exchange except for a few, who later reported that Cannon had called Juanita a whore. Enraged, Juanita supposedly told Cannon to come into her house if he was going to call her names. When he did, she grabbed a knife and stabbed him, although some said that she "sprang out from a place of concealment . . . and with a long sharp Bowie knife, stabbed him through the center of the breast bone and clear into the heart." (Sinnott, p. 48)

News of Cannon's death spread quickly throughout the town of 5,000 inhabitants and out to the surrounding claims. Infuriated miners, demanding Juanita's death, stormed into town, but were finally persuaded that she deserved a trial at the very least "though few doubted what the outcome of such a trial would be." (Sinnott, p. 48) Despite the fact that there were a number of notable individuals in Downieville for the Fourth of July celebration, including Colonel (later Governor) John B. Weller, a powerful orator, few tried to defend Juanita. Weller himself did not attend the trial, and those who tried to speak on behalf of Juanita were quickly thrown off the platform that had been erected for Fourth of July proceedings only to be transformed into a makeshift court facility.

One man who tried to intercede for Juanita was Dr. Cyrus D. Aiken, who testified that the young woman was *enciente* (with child), and that if she were hanged, two lives would be lost. Hearing this, the crowd became incensed and demanded that Juanita be examined by three other doctors. When these physicians failed to agree with Dr. Aiken, the mob turned against the good doctor and forced him to flee the township.

There is some question whether Juanita was pregnant. Indeed, Dr. Aiken's statement may have been simply a ruse to save the young woman. But the fact remains that, under most circumstances, the possibility that a woman might be expecting a child would have delayed execution for at least a reasonable period of time. Downieville's rush to hang Juanita in defiance of established precedent and in an era when the scarcity of women in California prompted almost a reverential awe of any woman, and in a town in which there were only 25 women out of a population of 5,000 in 1851, can be

explained only by the harsh, unyielding anti-Mexican sentiment that pervaded the area.

The fact that Juanita was Mexican and not Anglo denied her the moral, emotional, and physical protection guaranteed Anglo women in the rough mining communities of the day. In the eyes of most of Downieville's inhabitants, Juanita, the Mexican, was an inferior being who was tolerated only so long as she did not threaten the Anglo community. But stabbing Cannon was a direct challenge to the dominant group, a challenge the community met quickly and unrelentingly by hanging Juanita.

Thus it happened that the only woman ever lynched during the gold rush was executed at Downieville from a bridge on July 5, 1851. Unrepentant to the end, Juanita declared that, if so insulted again, she would defend her honor in the same way -- brave words that did little to sway the mood of the crowd. It was only later, as news of the event spread throughout the state, that Downieville's residents became defensive and perhaps a trifle remorseful for their precipitous action.

Juanita's death did not, unfortunately, end anti-Mexican agitation or attacks on other Mexicans in the Mother Lode. Through the years, however, her execution has remained one of the most vivid examples of inarticulate, unreasoning, strident anti-Mexican sentiment in the Mother Lode. Not only did Juanita's sentence embody the prejudices of a particular time and place, but it served as yet another warning of the danger inherent in unrestrained mob hysteria, particularly when based on racial or ethnic prejudice.

The original bridge spanning the Yuba River at Downieville no longer stands. According to James J. Sinnott, "there is considerable evidence . . . that the type of bridge from which Juanita was hanged was a double A-frame construction with a cribbed pier made of logs filled with boulders in the middle of the river, the width of the river being too great to be spanned by a single A-frame structure or a simple log platform-type bridge." This bridge was destroyed during the flood that occurred December 14-15, 1861. The present Durgan Bridge is a through-arch bridge.

Visalia Saddle Company Site

Visalia, Tulare County

Juan Martarell and his two associates, Alsario Herrera and Ricardo Mattley, opened the first store of the Visalia Saddle Company in the community of Visalia in 1869. Here, they began making the famed Visalia Stock Saddle for the vaqueros and herdsmen of the surrounding ranches in Tulare County. These

three men had come to California from the Mexican state of Sonora during the gold rush and settled in the town of Hornitos, a center of Hispanic settlement in Mariposa County. Martarell entered the saddle business and originated the Visalia Stock Saddle design, which he called the Vaquero Saddle. This model was lighter, stronger, and more comfortable for both horse and rider than the Spanish saddle that was then widely used. It quickly gained renown for Martarell and his associates in the saddlemaking trade.

When the three men moved to Visalia and opened their store, they brought their business to the heart of California's open-range cattle region. Mattley, a specialist in carving saddle trees from native oak, and Herrera, an expert silversmith, worked closely with Martarell in perfecting the Visalia Stock Saddle design. Juan Salazar, another saddlemaker who moved here from Sonora, Mexico, also contributed to the development of the Visalia saddle pattern.

According to tradition, Martarell had first hit upon his saddle design when a vaquero asked him to repair a worn Spanish saddle. Instead of making repairs, Martarell completely transformed the vaquero's equipment. His model lacked the high horn and long stirrups of the classic Spanish saddle, and it added a skirt for protection of the rider's legs. As this pattern was developed by Martarell and others, Visalia saddles defined an ideal of saddle design for skilled riders wherever the Hispanic vaquero tradition spread. Other saddle makers in Visalia adopted the design and helped give Visalia saddles a worldwide reputation for excellence in craftsmanship and practicality.

A year after his store opened, Martarell sold the business to David E. Walker, an experienced businessman and promoter who began an extensive advertising campaign to expand the market for the Visalia Saddle Company. Martarell, Herrera, and Mattley remained in charge of saddle production, though in time Martarell went to work for another Visalia saddle shop. Mattley and Herrera remained with the company more than 20 years.

Walker was extremely successful in building up the company's trade, especially through his catalogs which brought in a large mail-order business. His D. E. Walker trademark was stamped on every saddle that left the shop, making his name famous wherever cattlemen and riders gathered together. Visalia Stock Saddles and other company products found a market throughout the American West, as well as in British Columbia, the Hawaiian Islands, Central America, Argentina, Chile, and Australia.

Walker retired in 1887 and sold the company to his nephew, Edwin Weeks, who began transferring the

business to San Francisco. The Visalia shop was closed in the 1890s, and the firm then moved its headquarters to 221 California Street in San Francisco. Still known as the Visalia Saddle Company, the business continued to produce the Visalia Stock Saddle for decades. The shop also did an extensive business in custom saddles and other fine work, including hand-braided riatas and jaquimas, caronals, conchas, quirts, tapaderos, chaperejos, stirrups, and harnesses.

This company, an extremely successful pioneer enterprise, emphasizes the importance of Mexican contributions to the growth of California's economy and cultural life. Many of California's most skilled saddlemakers, including some still active today, received their training in the shops of this firm. They have carried on the tradition of Martarell, Herrera, and Mattley, a notable tradition in the history of the open-range cattle industry, not only in California but throughout half the world.

Cuyama District Ranger Station

Los Padres National Forest, Ventura County

Jacinto Damien Reyes (or J. D., as he was affectionately known) deserves public recognition for his outstanding contributions to forest management and conservation in Ventura County. During his 32-year tenure as a forest ranger in the Cuyama District of the Los Padres National Forest, Reyes supervised firefighting units at such major disasters as the June 1917 Matilija-Wheeler Springs fire, which burned 30,000 acres and threatened the town of Ojai; the 1919 Tujunga fire, with a loss of 80,000 acres; the 1921 Branch Canyon and Big Pine fires, which together decimated 25,000 acres; the 1922 Kelly Canyon fire, which destroyed 100,000 acres; and the 1928 Aliso Canyon fire, which ruined 43,000 acres. In addition to these major conflagrations, innumerable smaller blazes were extinguished under Reyes' supervision.

Despite the destruction caused by these fires, the ever-present danger of injury or death, the extreme heat, and the horrendous hours that usually extended into days (it took, for example, 35 consecutive days of firefighting to put out the Branch Canyon and Big Pine fires), as well as the makeshift support facilities maintained for early firefighters, Reyes never lost a man from one of his units. That is a remarkable record considering how many firefighting units Reyes supervised, the number and intensity of the blazes they fought, and the often treacherous

terrain, slashed by canyons and ravines, over which the men moved. Experience in the field enabled Reyes to explain:

*A ranger has to watch his men every minute to keep them from getting into trouble, and this is especially true when working with an inexperienced gang of fighters. A sudden change of wind, a lowering barometer or the fire jumping from one kind of vegetation to another can change the whole complexion of a fire quicker than a Spaniard can say "Hasta la vista." If you do not watch your business, you can get all your men trapped in the fire as easily as starting a forest fire. (J. D. Reyes, *Touring Topics*, p. 55)*

Reyes' concern for his men was matched by his concern for the environment. He was an early advocate of reforestation, a policy not officially adopted by the Forest Service until approximately 1910. But Reyes, a native of San Buenaventura whose father, Rafael Reyes, had first migrated to the Cuyama Valley in 1854 in search of feed for his stock and whose maternal uncles were noted vaqueros in the area, was intimately aware of the importance of the forests, not only to native wildlife but to farmers in the San Fernando Valley. His conservation and reforestation efforts created a debt that few have acknowledged and that none can repay.

Accepted by the Forest Service in 1900 as a temporary employee, Reyes received a permanent appointment on October 4, 1900. The following year, Reyes and other rangers in the area escorted President William McKinley through Ventura during a parade arranged in honor of the President. In 1905, Reyes was again present at a parade held in honor of another President, Theodore Roosevelt, and rode through the streets of Santa Barbara on "the right side of the president's carriage." (*Touring Topics*, p. 54) While such celebrations no doubt provided a welcome respite from the daily round of the ranger's duties, Reyes spent most of his time in the Cuyama District itself. He lived with his mother and brothers on their homestead at the mouth of Reyes Creek.

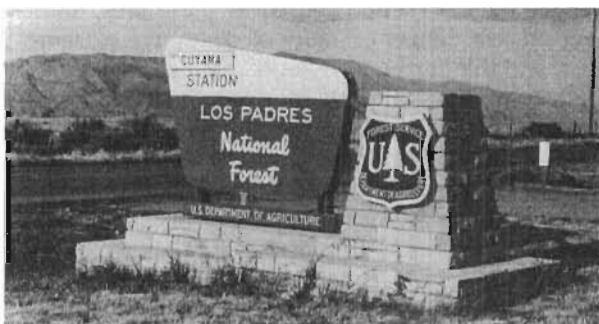
His father and uncles had built a set of adobe buildings on the land in 1855. After J. D.'s marriage in 1915 to Glendora G. Butke, he and his wife built a home for themselves only a quarter of a mile away from the Reyes' homestead.

During Reyes' tenure as a ranger in the Cuyama District, he witnessed and occasionally implemented impressive changes in the area under his supervision. In an interview, copyrighted in 1939 by the Automobile Club of Southern California, he described some of these changes:

*When I went to work with the Forest Service, we had practically no roads and very few trails. In fact when I became a ranger, we only had one primary trail and a pretty poor trail at that, that led across the mountains to the town of Ojai. We and all the early settlers used to get out mail and supplies over that trail by pack train. . . . Now we have a road that is passable for automobiles most of the year although it is only a winding dirt road up the Cuyama River. . . . (Reyes, *Touring Topics*, p. 55)*

Reyes, although apparently a good story-teller, was a self-effacing man who never boasted of the work he had done to open trails through the Cuyama District, preferring instead to comment that "it is with considerable pride that I have watched the gradual development of the Cuyama District. . . ." (*Ibid.*) Others, however, were quick to acknowledge the role he had played in making the Cuyama District more accessible to the public. Forest H. Cook, Headmaster of the Thacher School, wrote a letter at the time of Reyes' retirement, in which he noted:

that for twenty years Thacher camping parties enjoyed J. D.'s hospitality and that the success of their trips was due to his fine work in keeping the mountain trails open. The Thacher boys often remarked that when they got into J. D.'s district, trails were well ditched and in good repair . . . and J. D.'s career . . . has been a great lesson to Thacher boys. (Ibid.)



Similarly, Morgan Barnes, another Thacher teacher, noted "that the Thacher students look forward to visits to the Cuyama and look backward upon these occasions with the most delightful recollection." (*Ibid.*) Reyes obviously was popular with visitors to the Cuyama District, and may be the only ranger in the service ever to have had an ode published praising his work.

Certainly, the responsibility for campers, hunters, and fishermen is an important part of any ranger's duty, but a good ranger, as Reyes knew, is much more: "coroner, detective, court witness, Red Cross nurse, fireman, policeman," all rolled into one. What sets Reyes apart from his contemporaries and from those who followed him was that he was the only ranger in the U.S. Forest Service to work 30 years in one district, a district that included 450,000 acres (reduced in 1928 to 400,000).

Chicanos have made important contributions to the entire community by their work in a variety of fields, and Reyes is an outstanding example of a Chicano humanist, environmentalist, and conservationist. His efforts to preserve and protect the Los Padres National Forest deserve recognition.

St. Francis Dam Flood

Santa Paula, Ventura County

The San Francisquito Canyon, 50 miles west of Ventura, is a narrow gorge running roughly north and south which links the San Joaquin and Santa Clara Valleys. Here, in 1926, the St. Francis Dam was completed at a cost of \$1.3 million. A link in California's growing aqueduct system designed to reroute the waters of the southern Sierra to Los Angeles, the St. Francis Dam and Reservoir impounded water brought from the Owens Valley, and like the Owens Valley Aqueduct, was constructed under the personal supervision of Los Angeles' Chief Engineer, William Mulholland. At the time of its construction, the dam was hailed as a great accomplishment, but two years later its failure caused one of the worst disasters in California's history.

On March 11, 1928, the reservoir behind the St. Francis Dam held approximately 12 million gallons of water, or enough water to supply the city of Los Angeles for roughly two and a half months. When water began leaking around Powerhouse Two about one mile below the dam on March 12, the Los Angeles Bureau of Water and Power, the agency responsible for maintaining the dam, determined that there was no reason to evacuate any of the 20,000 people in the Santa Clara Valley. Twelve hours later, at midnight, the dam burst.

Although the mid-section of the dam remained standing, the sides collapsed and "were swept three-quarters of a mile downstream." (Cornell, p. 277) A wall of water 80 feet high, constrained by the narrow San Francisquito Canyon, gathered speed as it descended to the Santa Clara river bed, where it spread out to flood an area 60 miles wide. The water inundated Highway 126, along which some 50 cars and their estimated 125 passengers were traveling. "Eighty men in a construction camp immediately below the dam drowned, except for five men who were carried on their cots along the top of the wave as if riding on surfboards" (*Ibid.*) In all, at least a thousand people were left homeless by the flood and as many as 450 people died, although some estimates ranged as high as 700 dead.

The town of Santa Paula bore the brunt of the flood's fury. Unprepared, with no foreknowledge of the impending disaster, many were swept from their beds by the flood water which inundated the area at 3:30 a.m. Ten minutes later, the crest, still 30 feet high, hit the stricken community. Unlike the town of Saticoy which was only partially inundated, the flood caused at least a million dollars' damages in Santa Paula. To the relief of many in the town, most of the damage occurred in the Chicano barrio below Main Street.

Enticed by the availability of work in the citrus orchards around Santa Paula, the Chicano and Mexican community lived under a semif feudal system that provided them housing at reasonable rates but paid them practically nothing for their labor, and offered no possibility of advancement to either pickers or packing house employees. Although education was available (in segregated schools, of course), any form of advanced education that might have depleted the labor supply in the orchards was discouraged. As if such discrimination were not enough, Spanish-speaking inhabitants of Santa Paula were castigated the day after the town was inundated for their failure "to heed the warning of the coming flood." By supposedly refusing "to move out of the danger zone . . . many of them lost their lives. . . ." (*Ventura Free Press*, March 13, 1928)

At least 61 people died in the flood at Santa Paula; 50 in Saticoy; 49 in Newhall; 47 in Fillmore; and 40 at Moorpark -- staggering losses compared to the nine who died in Ventura and the four who lost their lives at Oxnard.

The collapse of the dam, which destroyed homes, buildings, bridges, railroads, livestock, farmland, and orchards along the 54-mile route covered by the water in less than 5-1/2 hours, was attributed by embarrassed officials to an earthquake tremor or to sabotage. But "later investigations proved the dam simply was unable to withstand the water pressure

behind it.” (Hart, p. 366; Cornell, p. 277) When the dam, which was 175 feet high and 175 feet wide at its base, was built, no tests were conducted to determine the stability of the valley’s rock formations. Unfortunately for the dam’s victims, “one end of the dam had been anchored in mica schist, a layered rock formation . . . and the center of the dam overlay a fault zone in which the rocks had once been reduced to powder and then recompressed.” (Cornell, p. 276) Neither formation, however, could bear the weight of the water which had accumulated in the swollen reservoir. The resulting tragedy has to be attributed to the poor judgment of Los Angeles’ Chief Engineer William Mulholland for building the dam without conducting an adequate survey of the underlying rock, and to the Los Angeles Bureau of Water and Power for failing to warn communities in the Santa Clara Valley on March 12, 1928 that the dam was leaking or that there were visible cracks in the outer surface of the dam, and that there was at least a possibility that the situation might become critical.

Cottage Hotel Site

Oxnard, Ventura County

In California labor history, and farm labor history specifically, as well as in the history of race relations, the site of the Cottage Hotel represents a particularly significant milestone. The Cottage Hotel was the headquarters of the Japanese-Mexican Labor Association, the first important agricultural workers’ union in California.

Organized by Japanese and Mexican farm laborers and labor contractors in Oxnard in 1903, the JMLA represented the first time that different racial minority workers joined together in union organizing and struck successfully against agribusiness, the state’s most important industry. It was not until the late 1920s and the 1930s that any agricultural labor union as important as the JMLA was again organized in California.

The JMLA-led strike, portending future farm labor struggles, revealed all of the elements characteristic of the conflict in the effort to organize California’s farmworkers. The now-classic pattern of resistance by agribusiness to unionization of farm labor; the violence and loss of life; the anti-farm labor alliance among agribusiness, local law enforcement agencies, the courts, and the press; and neglect by the organized labor movement were all present at Oxnard.

In a violent confrontation March 23, 1903, two Mexican and two Japanese laborers were wounded, and 21-year-old Luis Vasquez was killed. An inquest into the death blamed the violence and shooting on

the strikers, although witness after witness testified that armed Anglo farmers shot into the crowd.

While the JMLA won its demands, the victory was short-lived. The JMLA was not able to consolidate its gains. The hostility of agribusiness, the refusal of Samuel Gompers to grant an AFL charter to the JMLA unless it dropped its Japanese members, and the seasonal nature of agricultural labor all contributed to its demise.

The Mexican members vehemently refused Gompers’ demand to drop the Japanese members in exchange for an AFL charter. Despite its failure, the JMLA made the first significant inroads into unionization of farm laborers and laid the basis for collective action among racial minorities in California.

Ramirez Castle/Ellis House

Marysville, Yuba County

The Ramirez-Ellis House in Marysville, Yuba County, is an exceptional example of residential Gothic Revival styling in California, dating from the gold rush period. First constructed in 1851, the Ramirez-Ellis House is characterized by a central, steep, pointed gable roof, with elaborate wooden bargeboards. Pointed lancet windows accentuate the first and second facades of this two-story building, affectionately known as the “Castle.” The wooden front porch is supported by split columns.

The building is constructed of brick, plastered over and scored to resemble stonework. Reportedly, the 30-inch-thick interior and exterior brick bearing walls support the second-story floor, consisting of two layers of bricks laid over sand on top of heavy, timbered planking. The exceptional strength and durability of the structure was said to be in response to Ramirez’s youthful experience of growing up in a land of frequent earthquakes in South America. Lumber used in the interior of the house was said to be hardwood imported from Chile.

In the fall of 1842, Theodore Cordua obtained a lease from Captain John A. Sutter. It was on this tract of land that the City of Marysville would be located. First named New Mecklenburg by Sutter, in honor of Cordua’s place of birth, the area soon became more commonly known as Cordua’s ranch. On December 30, 1844, Theodore Cordua increased his holdings, obtaining a grant from the Mexican government that included about seven square leagues of land. It became known as the Honcut Rancho, after the creek that became its eastern boundary. Some time between 1844 and 1849, a former employee of Cordua’s, Charles Covillard, purchased the 31,080-acre rancho.

In April 1849, Jose Manuel Ramirez and John Sampson arrived at New Mecklenburg. Ramirez was Chilean by birth, and Sampson was most likely a native of Great Britain who had been residing in Chile.

It is quite probable that they came with plans to extract gold on a large if not a semi-feudal scale, for they brought with them a following of some 30 Chilenos who were decidedly dependent and subordinate.

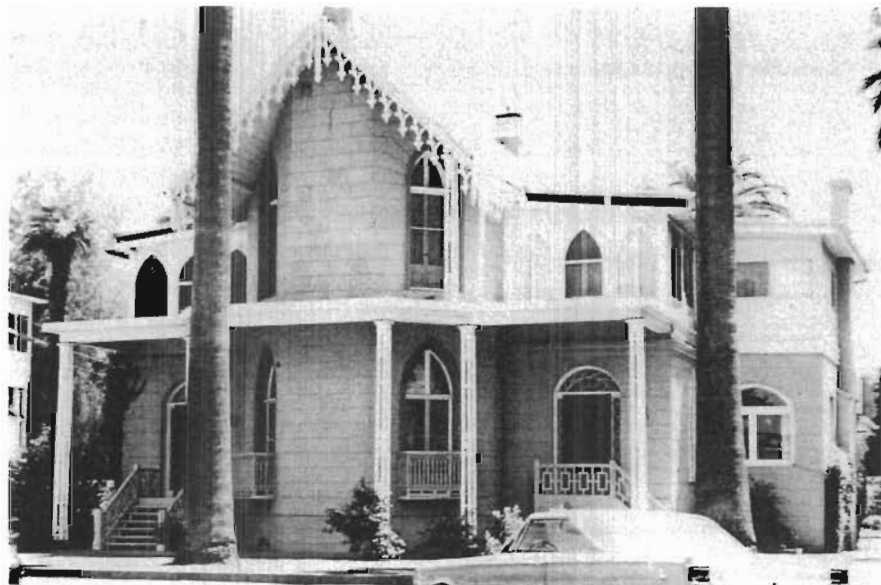
It was said of Ramirez that he was among the first to explore deep into the auriferous regions bordering on the Yuba and Feather rivers.

Soon after their arrival, Ramirez and Sampson were impressed by the possibilities of Mecklenburg as a supply point for the mines. In the latter part of 1849, Covilland sold three-fourths of his interest in Honcut Rancho to J. M. Ramirez, John Sampson, and Theodore Sieard. For their part, Ramirez and Sampson paid \$23,300. In January 1850, the town of Marysville was laid out by the four partners.

Jose Manuel Ramirez began building his house in Marysville in 1851, completing it in 1854. Its cost was said to exceed \$35,000. W. T. Ellis, who acquired the "Castle" in 1919, later described it as "one of the most interesting residences in Marysville . . . built by one of the original founders of the town. . . ." Ellis also attributed the structure's ample construction to the Chilean's experiences of earthquakes in his homeland.

J. M. Ramirez's path to fortune was punctuated by difficulties brought on by his Chilean heritage. His California adventure taught him that "foreigners" must be prepared to defend themselves in the California mines. In the fall of 1849, Ramirez, John Sampson, and their party of 30 Chilean miners were driven out of the mining community of Ferry Bar near the present site of Marysville by exasperated Anglo Americans who had discovered that the "Chileans were experienced miners, and could make better wages than they." However, the "foreigners" returned under the protection of armed men "who could both speak and shoot in the English language."

Two years after completion of his opulent Marysville home, Ramirez was shot by a member of an extra-legal band of Anglo Americans when he refused to allow them to search his home. The search was in connection with a stagecoach robbery that yielded \$10,000 in gold dust to the bandits. Two days later, even though Ramirez was never accused of participating in the crime, they returned to confiscate his weapons, described by a member of the party as a "perfect arsenal." Jose Ramirez survived his wounds and the hardships visited on him as a "foreigner" during California's gold rush era. His former residence still stands as a reminder of a city's birth and the personal achievement of one man caught amid the turbulence of California's early gold rush years.



Historical Listing

1. **"A History of Our Struggle" Mural**, Los Angeles County
 2. **A. Pereira General Store**, Calaveras County
 3. **Agua Mansa Cemetery and Church**, San Bernardino County
 4. **Aguirre Hotel Site**, San Francisco
 - * 5. **Anjac Fashion Building**, Los Angeles County
 - * 6. **Asociacion de Charros Camperos del Valle**, Alameda County
 7. **BART Mural**, San Francisco
 8. **Broderick/Washington City**, Yolo County
 9. **Camarillo Home and Rancho**, Ventura County
 - * 10. **Casa Blanca School**, Riverside County
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11. **Casa de Tableta**, San Mateo County
 12. **Central Station**, Los Angeles County
 13. **Centro Cultural de la Mision**, San Francisco
 - * 14. **Cerro Gordo**, Inyo County
 15. **Cesar Chavez Family Home**, Kern County
 16. **Chavez Ravine**, Los Angeles County
 - * 17. **Chicano Park, Logan Heights**, San Diego County
 18. **Children's Mural**, Los Angeles County
 19. **Chili Bar**, El Dorado County
 20. **Chualar Railroad Crossing**, Monterey County
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- * 21. **Cottage Hotel Site**, Ventura County
 - * 22. **Cuyama District Ranger Station**, Ventura County
 23. **Death Valley Junction**, Inyo County
 24. **Death Valley Railroad Construction Camp**, Inyo County
 25. **Depot**, Butte County
 26. **Diaz Lake**, Inyo County
 - * 27. **Dodson's Rooming House Site**, Sacramento County
 28. **Dona Santos**, San Joaquin County
 29. **Drytown**, Amador County
 30. **Duran's Showboat Bar**, Los Angeles County

* Sites included in this report

Historical Listing—cont'd.

- * 31. **Durgan Bridge**, Sierra County
 - 32. **El Carrito Mexican Restaurant**, San Diego County
 - * 33. **El Centro Campesino**, San Benito County
 - * 34. **El Clamor Publico**, Los Angeles County
 - 35. **Embassy Auditorium**, Los Angeles County
 - 36. **Estrada's Spanish Kitchen**, Tulare County
 - 37. **Euclid Heights Methodist Episcopal Church**, Los Angeles County
 - 38. **First Mexican Baptist Church**, Fresno County
 - * 39. **Forty Acres**, Kern County
 - 40. **Galeria de la Raza/Studio 24**, San Francisco
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- * 41. **Holy Cross Cemetery/Archbishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany**, San Mateo Co.
 - 42. **Hornitos**, Mariposa County
 - 43. **Huelga School**, Kern County
 - 44. **Jose Antonio de la Guerra y Murega's Winery Site**, Santa Barbara Co.
 - 45. **Juzgado and First Public School Site**, Santa Clara County
 - * 46. **KGST**, Fresno County
 - 47. **La Hispano-Americana**, Contra Costa County
 - 48. **Lalos**, Los Angeles County
 - * 49. **La Opinion**, Los Angeles County
 - 50. **La Union Espanola de Vacaville**, Solano County
-
- 51. **Liberty Theater**, Yuba County
 - 52. **Little Chile/Chilecito Site**, San Francisco
 - 53. **Little Tijuana Site**, San Mateo County
 - 54. **Los Coches Adobe**, Monterey County
 - 55. **Luisa Moreno and United Cannery - Agricultural Packing Allied Workers of America**, Los Angeles County
 - 56. **Mariposa**, Mariposa County
 - 57. **Martinez**, Tuolumne County
 - * 58. **Martinez House**, Alameda County
 - 59. **Mexican Museum**, San Francisco
 - 60. **Mexican School**, Los Angeles County

* Sites included in this report

Historical Listing—cont'd.

- 61. **Mexican Voice**, Los Angeles County
 - 62. **Miller and Lux Ranch Headquarters**, Merced County
 - 63. **Million Dollar Theater**, Los Angeles County
 - 64. **Mural**, Los Angeles County
 - 65. **Nevarrez Cabin - Cow Creek Ranch**, Inyo County
 - 66. **Palomar Ballroom**, Santa Clara County
 - 67. **Pan American Unity Mural**, San Francisco
 - 68. **"Para El Mercado" Mural**, San Francisco
 - * 69. **Pilarcitos Cemetery**, San Mateo County
 - 70. **Pixley Hotel**, Tulare County
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- * 71. **Plaza de la Raza/Lincoln Park**, Los Angeles County
 - 72. **Quinto Sol Publications**, Alameda County
 - 73. **RCAF/Centro de Artistas Chicanos**, Sacramento County
 - * 74. **Ramirez Castle/Ellis House**, Yuba County
 - * 75. **Regeneracion**, Los Angeles County
 - 76. **Richland Labor Camp**, Sutter County
 - 77. **Saticoy Lemon Association**, Ventura County
 - 78. **Sierra Talc**, Inyo County
 - 79. **Silver Dollar Cafe**, Los Angeles County
 - 80. **Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus Orphan Asylum Site**, Los Angeles County
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- * 81. **Sociedad Catolica Regional Guadalupana**, Contra Costa County
 - 82. **Sonora**, Tuolumne County
 - 83. **Soto Street Market**, Los Angeles County
 - * 84. **South Colton**, San Bernardino County
 - 85. **Spanish Dry Diggings**, El Dorado County
 - 86. **Spanish Ranch**, Plumas County
 - * 87. **Spanishtown Site**, Santa Clara County
 - * 88. **Spreckels' "Little Tijuana,"** Monterey County
 - * 89. **St. Francis Dam Flood**, Ventura County
 - 90. **St. Gertrude's Catholic Church**, San Joaquin County

* Sites included in this report

Historical Listing—cont'd.

- * 91. **St. Mary's Catholic Church**, San Joaquin County
- 92. **St. Mary's Convent Site**, Santa Clara County
- 93. **Tafoya's Drive-In Market**, Yolo County
- * 94. **"The Making of a Fresco" Mural**, San Francisco
- 95. **Union Espanola de California Site**, San Francisco
- 96. **Vasquez Adobe Site**, San Mateo County
- 97. **Victoria Theatre**, San Francisco
- * 98. **Visalia Saddle Co.**, Tulare County
- * 99. **Westminster School**, Orange County



Agua Mansa Cemetery, Colton, San Bernardino County

*** Sites included in this report**

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